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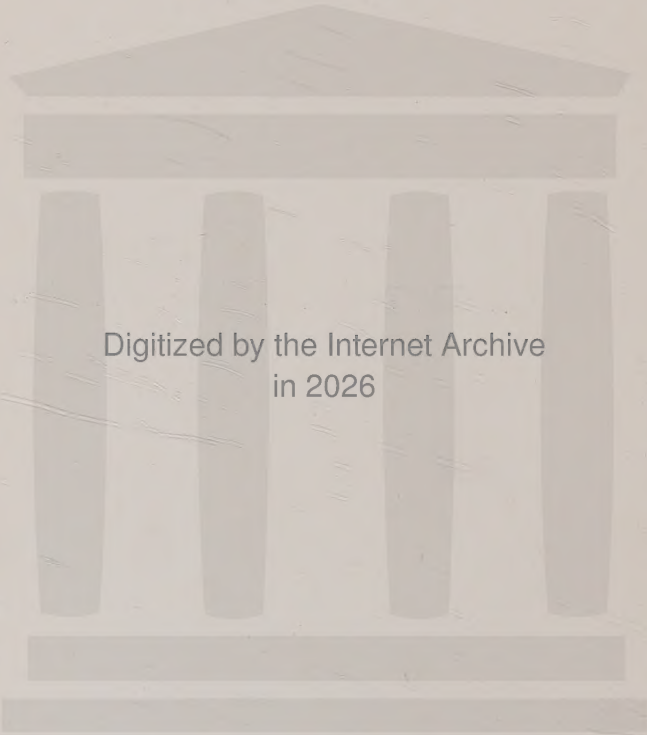
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ATONEMENT AND THE EUCHARIST



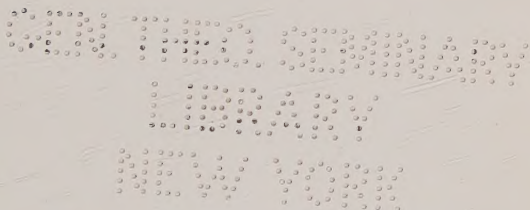
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ATONEMENT AND THE EUCCHARIST

BY

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ATONEMENT AND THE EUCHARIST

INTRODUCTION

IT is some years since the idea of the present volume first presented itself to the writer's mind. It seemed to him, and it still seems, that what English Churchmen need is some theological exposition which sets out simply and clearly the philosophical principles on which doctrine and worship are alike based. To steady their faith men need a reasonable system of religious philosophy to which they may on occasion appeal for its justification. The appeal to Scripture is not sufficient, because it is not difficult by passing over this, emphasizing that, or reading one's own views into the other passage, to make out a very plausible case for any dogma that it is desired to defend. The appeal to history is even more unsatisfactory. With a little ingenuity, and a natural aptitude for research, one may find precedents for anything.

The tendency in this country since the time of the Reformation has been to make Scripture almost the only court of appeal. There have been a great number of so called 'theological works' published, but of works on theology—of treatises, that is, on the philosophical bases of Catholic doctrine—very few, and most of these of quite recent date.

The Western Church is not partial to theology. It is not that there is any disinclination in the Western mind to consider causes and the reasons for things: but the fact is that theology has not been presented to Occidental thought in an attractive way. It has always seemed to be concerned with hair-splitting subtleties, petty distinctions, and quibbles about

words which to the strong common-sense which is its chief characteristic have appeared to be trifling. As a matter of fact, the Western mind is more capable of evolving a reasonable theology out of the constituents of revelation than the Oriental. That it has been somewhat laggard in this respect is due to a variety of causes. The Italian branch, and all other branches which own the supremacy of the Roman Metropolitan, have produced very few independent thinkers. The iron-bound discipline of these communions is not favourable to the formation of such habits of thought as are essential to the evolution of a reasonable system of Christian philosophy. Of saints there has been a sufficiency. The tendency of dogma is to produce conventional saints, and Rome is nothing if not dogmatic. The great Anglican branch has been harassed by Protestant schism, and hampered by Erastian latitudinarianism. Its energy has been either sapped by indifferentism, or diverted to repelling the assaults of interested and jealous dissidents. Bunyan's 'Pilgrim's Progress' to this day furnishes the theology which serves for a very large proportion of English-speaking Christians. It is a wonderful allegory, but it savours throughout of the popular superstitions of the later mediæval Church as we find them illustrated in the frescoes of Orcagna and Benedetti. The uneducated Roman Catholic, as well as his most bigoted opponent, derives most of his ideas about heaven, hell, and his present estate from the corrupt notions which misled popular thought in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Both are content with the present, both afraid of the future; both take low views of human life, and are content with low ideals of human character; both regard religion as the means whereby an angry God may be successfully propitiated. The one believes that God is propitiated by the Sacrifice on the Cross, the other that He is appeased by the Sacrifice of the Mass. The difference in the details of doctrine is as nothing compared with the similarity of the foundation principles on which the doctrines are respectively based. Both alike regard God as needing to be appeased by sacrifice, and as changed thereby from an attitude of hostility to one of complaisance. The relief obtained is reached by different roads. The one gets his subjectively through what he calls his faith, the other by his diligent performance of the prescribed sacramental acts; but the motive and the principle in each case is the same. Both obtain deliverance from superstitious fears

for the future by reliance upon something which is done for them, which *ipso facto* absolves them from suffering the consequences of their disobedience in the days of their probation. Neither of them regards the priestly act which saves him as a counterpart of what is even now expected from himself. The one has his Love Feast, or his Lord's Supper ; the other his Mass. But to neither of them does the Eucharist present itself as the great act of oblation whereby, in an acclaim of thanksgiving for the peace proclaimed by Christ, the souls and bodies of the worshippers are presented to God as in the course of actual transformation, on the ground of the reality of which the offering is alone invested with the character of acceptableness.

It was not the writer's intention in the first instance to do more than endeavour to clear the Anglican position of some of the accretions of post-Reformation error ; but the publication of the Pope's Bull, and the reply of the Anglican Primates, has invested the subject with additional interest. The observant reader will find that the Archbishops, in the encyclical 'Sæpius Officio,' advocate precisely the same views which this treatise is intended to exalt. They do not, it is true, regard them from the same theological side ; but they do show that the historical and actual position of the Anglican Catholic Church is exactly that to which the principles of theology here enunciated clearly and emphatically point.

The principles advocated will be found to be an ample justification for the Churchman's objection to what is called undenominational Christianity. To a Catholic the word 'undenominational' is the equivalent of 'unreliable.' To teach any principles of religion other than those which direct the thoughts to the necessity for a change of nature through the new birth, and the subsequent exaltation of character to be achieved by growth into the Perfect Man, as continuously expressed in the Eucharist, is, in his estimation, to misrepresent the purpose of Divine revelation.

It will be seen that the chief concern of the author is the exaltation of the Sacrament of the Eucharist to its true position as the pivot and centre of doctrine and of life. It appears to him that it is not possible to grasp the full meaning of that Sacrament without the previous, or at any rate the concurrent, acceptance of a definite theory of Atonement. He has endeavoured to show that the sacrificial system of the old

covenant was constructed on some such definite theory, and he is convinced that the principles which underlie the ritual of revelation from the beginning are identical in their essence with those that justify and, in his view, illuminate the ordinances of the Christian Faith. It is because interest in these prime essentials has been supplanted by interests of subordinate importance that it is so rare to discover a man who can give an intelligent reason for the faith that is in him. Even the High Church party, though it has done excellent work of a kind, has not been sufficiently clear in this respect. There has been a vigorous call to obedience, but it has been to an obedience to old customs, archaic rubrics, and medieval ritual. The ritualistic movement appealed strongly to the conservatism ingrained in the national character. It appealed also to men of culture, whose more refined taste revolted at what seemed to them a too sordid interpretation of Scripture incident and imagery. The fierce exultation of the Puritan fanatics in the misfortunes of their religious opponents, the glorying in the discomfiture of spiritual 'Amalekites,' the gloating over the tortures of the damned in the flames of hell fire, the fervour of religious hysteria which transports emotional natures into a paradise of golden delights, and leads them in imagination to fancy themselves sweeping through golden gates, playing on sweetly-toned harps, basking in the sunlight of royal favouritism, immune from all inconvenience, all pain, all sickness, all worry and all toil, enjoying the maximum of wage, with the minimum of work—all this offended men of finer feeling and led them to embrace a system which seemed to promise deliverance from the excrescences without loss of the essentials of Evangelical religion. But though thus appealing to conservative instinct and refined taste, the ritual movement cannot be said to have made any very great impression upon the theological position of the Anglican Catholic Church. There has been a considerable output of Catholic literature. We are indebted to the movement for the editing of the Anglo-Catholic Library of Theology, and for a very excellent translation of the writings of the Greek and Latin Fathers of the early centuries; but these are not of an original character. Of constructive theology there is very little. Newman with all his daintiness of ecclesiastical style, his ultra-refinement of thought, his ascetic fervour, his innate and passionate reverence, his sensitive aversion from all that

was base and mean and dishonest, his fervent love of God, and his righteous enmity to all that seemed to impugn his honour, was too fierce and too fine a character for a constructive theologian. Indeed, all that 'set' of Oxford propagandists, who looked to Newman as their chief, were of the stuff of which saints are made—some of them were saints in fact—but it is, of course, possible to be saintly without being necessarily philosophical. The men of the Oxford school exhibited no poverty of intellectual thought, though their literature is rather of a poetical and devotional than of an expository or illuminating kind. Dean Church, for instance, the most eminent writer of all of them, as, indeed, he is one of the most charming writers of English which the last century produced, has left behind him no treatise which can be said to have permanent influence on English theological thought.

It is unnecessary to refer to the old Evangelicalism which had its origin in the religious-emotional wave which rolled over England during the storm of nervous excitement which John Wesley's preaching provoked. That wave was a phenomenon to which all religions, true or false, are on occasion subject, and is independent of causes reasonable or controllable. It has appeared three times since then: once in the influence of the Clapham Evangelicals, once in the Moody and Sankey revival, and a third time in the work of the Salvation Army; but each time with decreasing spiritual force, and with increasing tendency to the adoption of superficial and *ad captandam* methods. Evangelicalism never had a standing place upon anything that could be termed a theological platform. Its chief contribution to the religious necessities of the times has been the infusion of sentiment into that which was too exclusively formal and cold.

The great theological work of the nineteenth century, so great that it towers in the writer's estimation over every other religious book produced in this island since the Reformation, with the dual exception possibly of the 'Ecclesiastical Polity' of Hooker, and the 'Book of the Church,' by Field, is McLeod Campbell's 'Nature of the Atonement.' In one sense it is even more important than the two works just mentioned, for its teaching is of a more fundamental character, and supplies the solid bases of thought on which such systems of theology must permanently and ultimately rest. It is remarkable that the treatise of all others to which Catholics will probably have

to look for guidance in qualifying themselves to form a juster conception of the sacrificial value of the Church's chief liturgical service should be the production of a Presbyterian. Dale's well-known book on the same subject is more popular, but less satisfying; perhaps more popular because less satisfying. What is needed is some work which shall link the theology of Campbell with the Sacrament of Holy Communion, and it is this task which the writer of the present volume has set himself to perform. Whether he succeed or fail in the attempt is not of very great moment. He would be amply satisfied if he did but succeed in indicating a way along which some writer of greater historical knowledge and higher literary attainments may in the future more successfully travel.

The author desires to acknowledge his indebtedness for whatever historical information he may possess to the teaching of the greatest ecclesiastical historian in the truest sense of the word that the Church of England has ever produced—to Dr. Lightfoot, the late Bishop of Durham, and to his acknowledged master, the great German historian, the Christian Jew, Dr. Neander. One wishes that Dr. Lightfoot could have seen his way to write some historico-doctrinal treatise on the Eucharist. It is, of course, not possible for one man to do everything; but the writer is convinced that no one in the Church in modern times has possessed the ability to deal with such a subject as this in so eminent a degree. No one privileged to be present at those wonderful lectures of his in the Hall of Trinity College can forget the magnificent patience with which each point was elaborated, or the exquisite judicial balancing of the evidence for and against the various possible theories which in the treatment of his subject he was obliged to consider. Without a shred of pedantry, or the exhibition of learning for its own sake, in his own simple, lucid way he poured forth in carefully measured sentences the stores of his accumulated knowledge from a memory which never seemed to play him false. His method contrasts sharply with that of the speculative German school. The Tübingen writers failed in that they proceeded too entirely on the empirical method of the mediæval schoolmen who preceded Bacon and Galileo. They started with a theory, and then proceeded to collect such historical facts as they required to bolster it up. Lightfoot's method was the reverse of this. He constructed no theory until he had collected every scrap of historical evidence which

bore directly or indirectly upon the matter in hand, and even then hesitated to pronounce his views until he had disposed to his own satisfaction of every possible objection that could be urged against it. It is this infinite patience in historical research which makes him such an excellent guide in all matters of religious opinion. At a very humble distance the present writer desired to tread in his footsteps. He advanced to the task with the determination in no case to allow preconceived notions to hamper his judgment. In accepting the theological position of Campbell on the Atonement, he did so because, after years of patient reflection and reading and re-reading of his arguments, he felt convinced that they fulfil the conditions which such a method as Lightfoot's prescribes ; and because, moreover, he finds that that position is more than any other in accord with the teaching of Scripture, and the writings of the Fathers of the least corrupt period of the history of the Christian Church.¹

¹ All the historical authorities quoted in this work are antecedent to the Council of Nicea, 325 A.D. The translations adopted are, for the most part, those of the writers in Clark's 'Ante-Nicene Library.'

CHAPTER I

GOD'S SENTENCE AGAINST SIN

THE Christian Eucharist is in its nature so representative and expressive of the fundamental doctrine of Atonement that it is impossible to consider it intelligently otherwise than in direct connection with the teaching of the Scriptures on that great subject. Just as it is impossible, as we shall see later on, to view aright the Israelitish system of sacrificial worship apart from the fundamental principles of old covenant theology, so is it impossible to rightly regard the great central act of new covenant worship apart from the groundwork of theological doctrine upon which it stands, and from which it acquires its stability and its meaning.

The Sacraments of the Church are God's great object lessons to His children. They express in simple action truths which are essential in importance and central in relation to all Christian conduct. So long as they are used in the simplicity of their intention, so long will it be impossible for men to drift irrecoverably from the solid rock of religious principle to which Jesus Christ attached them. They may be, and often have been, misunderstood; but so long as they are preserved in the public services of the Church it will always be possible to view and review the symbolical acts which are their essential features, and to return to the solid bed-rock of religious principle upon which they were placed by the Founder of our faith. With the Sacrament of Baptism we are not now concerned. Let us, however, in reference to the Eucharist try to set forth as plainly as may be the truth upon which it is based, and without a clear apprehension of which it is not possible rightly to understand its meaning.

But before we can do that it will be necessary to clear the

ground of some popular and extensively held misconceptions which have tended in the past, and which still tend to lead men's thoughts astray. The most difficult error to uproot is that which regards salvation in the main with reference to deliverance from a punishment which is threatened, but which may with precaution be averted. This view takes no account of present ills, from which salvation is needed quite as much as from the horrors which are to be dreaded in the future. It is, for example, not uncommon to find men of some theological attainment writing of what they term the *Problem of Pain* as though it were a subject for quite separate consideration, and one altogether apart from and outside of the general plan of Redemption. It is written about and discussed as though it were a mystery for which some special revelation were needed ; as though God had some inscrutable reason for what is called 'inflicting' this suffering upon His creatures as a chastisement over and above the punishment which is the proper award of man's sin. And, of course, the inequality of the suffering does in itself *prima facie* seem to lend some sort of countenance to a view of this sort. And yet, not only is it unnecessary to accord it this separate treatment, but such separate consideration tends almost more than anything else to cast doubts and slights upon the justice and love of God, and to lead men to imperfect solutions of the great mystery of the Incarnation itself. We ought never to have out of mind that Christ came into the world and took our nature upon Him quite as much with a view to relieve men from pain and other ills incidental to our present estate as from fear of future punishment. We say 'incidental' to our present state, because it ought to be clearly perceived that all the inconveniences of our lot, even death and hell, which result from sin, are of this character. They are the natural and inevitable sequences of the punishment which the nature of God compelled Him to inflict upon sin, but they are not the punishment itself. The punishment was expatriation from the home of God, banishment from the realm of light into the realm of darkness ; but the evils which follow in the wake of such expatriation, though, of course, fore-known of God, need not necessarily, and, in fact, should not be regarded as of His direct inflicting.¹ It is easy to explain

¹ 'However awful our sense of all *secondary* evils that come in the train of men's alienation, or high our conception of the secondary good that will follow on their being reconciled to God, we must forbid all *direct* dealing

this by simple illustration. For instance, take the case of a man who for political crime is banished to some wild country over the seas. It is quite possible that he may be forced by the exigencies of his lot to endure inconveniences from reptiles, or from savage beasts, or what not, which it was not the intention of the Government to inflict upon him, although circumstances may have conspired to necessitate his removal to that particular spot and to no other. Therefore he is obliged to endure these sequences of his rebellious conduct, though, as a matter of fact, they are no part of his original sentence. This view of the matter is quite sufficient to account for the inequality of present suffering and pain, without any impugning of the justice and benevolence of Deity. So regarded, these things are, it may with perfect reverence be said, accidental in character, and such as even Almighty God is Himself unable to avert.

No one less deserved such suffering than our blessed Lord; no one ever endured more. In saying this we are not thinking only of bodily pain, of which He endured His full share, nor of the poverty, toil, hunger, thirst, and weariness incidental to such a life as He voluntarily assumed. There are sufferings more poignant and acute than those inflicted upon the body by ill-health, poverty, or the brutality of men. Misrepresentation, contradiction, spite, jealousy, intolerance, aptness to take offence, and the thousand and one selfish acts of conduct which men indulge, impose mental anguish upon sensitive people, harder to be borne sometimes than the weariness of bodily pain. And it was because it is impossible to explain this inequality, and to make clear to men the impotence even of God, that He came down Himself to endure. And we say

with wrath and judgment as if these must be *first* disposed of, and *then* attention be turned to other considerations. . . . We know that the desire of the Father's heart is toward His offspring; that it goes forth to them directly; that it is not a simple mercy pitying their misery; that it seeks to possess them as dear children. We know that to be restored to Him, and to possess Him as their Father, is to these alienated children themselves not merely a great thing, but everything. . . . As to wrath—terror—these they have not *directly* to do with; they are to think of them as connected with the region of distance from God, of alienation from God, back from which they are called; they will cease as to them in their being reconciled to God.'—MCLEOD CAMPBELL'S *Nature of the Atonement*, p. 212, third edition (Macmillan, 1869).

The italics in this extract are not ours, but Dr. Campbell's.

that *God* came down Himself to endure, because we must not look upon Jesus as in this respect the suffering Man upon whom the Father inflicted pain and death with a view to a propitiatory sacrifice which should satisfy a constructive plan of redemption. We may not regard either the Godhead or Manhood in Jesus Christ from the moment of incarnation as ever existing in severance, as dealt with separately, or as acting otherwise than in absolute and complete concord. The one Christ is always both God and man. When Jesus endured the contradiction of sinners against Himself, and all the inconvenient consequences which that word 'contradiction' summarizes, it was the Deity Himself who was so enduring, and by enduring making it plain to the minds of men that such an endurance by men as an incidental sequence of expatriation was unavoidable, and that even the wisdom of the Godhead could neither discover nor provide an avenue of escape.

An explanation of the doctrine of Atonement which leaves out of sight any of the incidental consequences of the sentence against sin must be imperfect, and any scheme which separates the Sacrifice upon the Cross from the whole life of passion which preceded it must be an inadequate scheme. The death of Jesus Christ, viewed as the medium of atonement, as it of course must be viewed, comprehends all that is incidental to death—all that precedes, all that leads up to, all, however remote, that finds its ultimate expression in death. Every headache, and every little anguish that men endure, contains in it the elements, the forewarning, the prophetic indication, the ultimate necessity of death. In order that none of these incidental and accidental concomitants of death might be unendured, Jesus began life, as we all begin it, at the cradle, for the express purpose, and with the deliberate intention, of running through the whole gamut of the scale of passion of which the keynote is death.

It should be clearly seen, therefore, that the deliverance to be sought is not deliverance merely from prospective pains which remain to be inflicted by sentence as yet unpronounced upon the ungodly who refuse to avail themselves of a method of escape provided by Christ, but deliverance from a passion which the sons of men are undergoing now in what they are accustomed to speak of as the heyday of existence. The lot of men is *miserable* (using the term in the classical sense in which it is employed in the Litany of our Church), not because

of fears for the future, but because of contradictions in the present, contradictions which evidence the fact of the expatriation and alienation from God, which is the sentence which alone calls for revocation. And it is only when we so regard it that we arrive at a right understanding of the mission of Him 'who endured such contradiction of sinners against Himself.'

If it be asked what is the cause of all this inclusive total of unequal suffering, the Holy Scriptures supply a direct and unequivocal answer. It is the fact of sin. Therefore, when the Saviour appeared and assumed in the womb and the cradle the passion which it was necessary He should assume in order that He might endure all the consequences of the original sentence, no message was delivered which could bear any other construction than that He came to deliver men from that one thing which was the sole cause of all such suffering. 'Thou shalt call His name Jesus, for He shall save His people from their sins.'

What, then, was the real object of salvation? Was it that men might merely be relieved of fears for the future? Not so, because that would leave unexplained the endurance by man of suffering in the present. Was it the provision by the Deity out of sheer pity¹ of a means whereby men might evade the frightful consequences of their misdeeds? Not at all. Men cannot avoid the consequences of their misdeeds, nor was it any part of God's intention that they should. From what suffering have men been exempted in consequence of the passion of Christ? Christ came to suffer *because* men suffer, and *as* they suffer, not to exempt them from suffering. His passion is the counterpart of theirs, not a substitution for it.

But, it is said, it is the prospect of hell that men dread so much, and it is from that that Christ provided the means of escape. And no doubt, if we accept the common view of hell as a flaming pit full of torturing creatures, such as devils are pictorially represented to be, all other sufferings incidental to the sentence of expatriation do appear to shrink into comparative

¹ 'Now, in our judgment, God lightens the suffering of no wicked man who has not betaken himself to a virtuous life, and casts off no one who is already good, nor yet alleviates the sufferings of anyone who mourns simply because he utters lamentation, or takes pity upon him, to use the word pity in its more common acceptance.'—OR'GEN: *Against Celsus*, iii. 71.

insignificance. But no greater injury was ever done to the Christian religion than by the importation into it of the horrible notion that God has lit a fire to thrust men into, and that He employs such monsters of cruelty to attend to it, and to superintend the torture of the lost.

It is no part of our desire to represent hell as one whit less horrible than the language of Scripture implies. There are worse things to be endured, as we have already pointed out, than bodily pain; and the sufferings of the lost when they pass from darkness to outer darkness will be at least as acute as if they were subjected to the actual burning which is used in Scripture as an illustration of the penalty to which those who wilfully remain in sin subject themselves by reason of their unwise choice. There is no harm in taking (if anyone be disposed to take) the words 'everlasting fire' and 'lake of fire' to refer to a literal conflagration. The fulfilment of Scripture imagery, even of allegory, will always answer to its type. The vivid words of our Lord and His Apostles and Evangelists, whether we put a literal or a figurative interpretation¹ upon them, mean exactly what they say. We find no fault with those who, unlike ourselves, interpret the burning as a literal scorching of the actual flesh of the post-millennial bodies of the unsaved in a material flame, so long as they attribute neither the kindling nor the stoking of that fire to God. The suffering will, at any rate, not be less distressing than that of such literal burning would be. But it is wrong—we do not hesitate to say blasphemous—to regard the punishment as a torture devised by God, or to talk as though in the application of it He employed devils for His ministers. The fire is 'prepared,' no doubt, and its preparation is sadly foreseen and sorrowfully allowed for in the Divine councils; but those who prepare it and keep it alive are the victims themselves, and its preparation is the unconscious business of their antecedently selfish

¹ 'The wicked man is said to build up on the previously laid foundation of reason "wood, and hay, and stubble." If, then, anyone can show that these words were differently understood by the writer, and can prove that the wicked man *literally* builds up wood, or hay, or stubble, it is evident that the fire must be understood to be material and an object of sense. But if, on the contrary, the works of the wicked man are spoken of figuratively under the names of wood, or hay, or stubble, why does it not occur to inquire in what sense the word fire is to be taken so that the "wood" of *such a kind* should be consumed?'—ORIGEN: *Against Celsus*, iv. 13, and compare v. 15.

lives. Hell is natural enough. There is nothing more unnatural in hell as the sequence of sin than in *delirium tremens* as the result of excessive drinking. In each case the nemesis is prepared by the sufferer himself.¹ The unnatural thing would be if hell did not follow: for hell is only the continuation in another state of the same lot as we endure in this, with the sole difference that *there* it is no longer alleviated by an admixture of the good. The good are, as Christ said, 'the salt of the earth.' Hell, to put it concisely, is earth unsalted. It is hardly possible to conceive of the awful misery which would result even on earth to men and women whose lives are frankly selfish, if they could be gathered together and isolated on some continent or island from which every lovable and kindly soul had been previously taken away, where the flames of passion, avarice, sensuality, jealousy, and vice of every description could have free play, with no check, no alleviation from the cool, clear waters of love, gentleness, purity, and peace.² We should be correct in applying to such a society the oft-used description of 'a hell upon earth.'

Why, then, should we go out of our way to calumniate God by assuming Him to be the author of horrors for which we are ourselves responsible? The flames of hell as they are figuratively called, are not those which are applied by devils at the instigation of God, but those which will flare unchecked

¹ Cf. Magee, 'Atonement,' pp. 32-36.

² Magee ('Atonement,' p. 41) gives his view of heaven and hell as 'states in which evil and good—which even here are seen to be mutually repulsive and opposing influences—shall work themselves clear, and exist thenceforward entirely apart, the bad and the good going on each to their "own place," to that for which they have fitted and prepared themselves here; a state in which those who could not endure to obey here shall find themselves at last in a condition of utter lawlessness, all the evil in their own nature, and in that of those with whom they dwell, raging unrestrained, unchecked by any surrounding influences of good; and the awakened conscience—no longer drugged by passion or lulled by forgetfulness—judging unerringly, smiting pitilessly, judging and smiting on and on for every fresh outbreak of evil, and so making this a state of perpetual anguish, self-inflicted still, and for that reason all the more hopelessly agonizing. And on the other hand, we hold that there is a state in which those who have striven to submit themselves to law shall find themselves in an existence from which all lawlessness has vanished—the strife in their own hearts healed, and themselves entirely at one with an environment which makes entirely and always for righteousness—unvexed and undisturbed by the presence of evil in themselves or others. And one of these states we call Hell, and the other Heaven.'

from within the damned themselves, and which would break forth even now if it were not for the fact that the wicked are allowed to remain mixed with the good, and to benefit by the alleviation which the presence of the good affords.¹ Men are set on fire of their own lusts even in this world. It is the warmth of their concupiscence that hatches the worm of remorse. Hell is that state in which the worm has no chance to die, and the fire no opportunity for being quenched. Like Judas Iscariot, the rest of the unsaved depart to 'their own place.' In bundles they go to the burning, but no torch is needed to inflame them, and no devil is needed to stir the fire. They burn, not because they are cast into a pit of flame, but because they are cast into the outer darkness, where no ray of the sunlight of love beats with superior force upon the artificial fires of passion, which now may leap unchecked from the fuel of their own natures.

What we need to make men feel is not that they are going to suffer something one day when they are cast away, but that they are already cast away; that even in this world their natures are, whilst in sin, abhorrent and unworthy; that God's object is not to alleviate the discomforts incidental to a state of sin, whether in this world or the next, but only to remove the sin, and by such removal to constitute man once more the

¹ We do not forget that in each individual soul, even whilst that soul is in a state of separation from God, there is until the final reprobation an admixture of good along with the evil. Nor need we assume that the doom of each soul is irrevocably fixed at the Second Advent, still less that it is hopelessly cut off from God by natural death. These are questions which require separate treatment. The argument does not require that we should attempt to trace the history of the individual soul through every possible phase of its experience between the limits indicated. There are, assuredly, many stages to be passed both in its upward and downward career. We only say that whilst in sin it is under the sentence; it is cut off from God, and therefore moribund, and that hell is the acute stage of spiritual mortification. We may assume that it is susceptible to the influences of grace, either here or hereafter, until its final reprobation. This much, at least, is clear: that whatever stage of experience it may have arrived at during such period of susceptibility, so long as it continues in sin it is in a state of severance from God; and that so long as it remains in social communion with other souls in a like condition it must be subject to all the pains, inconveniences, and contradictions which such communion necessarily entails. These pains reach their culminating point when the soul passes out of the range of any possible alleviation, whether that alleviation be derived from God through grace, from social converse with better souls, or from any remnant of innate good in its own nature.

exalted creature which He intended him to be, and so render him in body, soul, and spirit, an offering worthy of acceptance by a Being of Truth, of Purity; and Love.¹

It was the transforming of our natures, with a view to making them thus worthy of being offered to God, that Jesus Christ came into the world to effect; and to view His work merely as an effort to enable men to avert the consequences of their evil-doings is degrading alike to Him and to those whom He came to honour and to exalt.

Hell, then, is no part of God's original sentence against sin. God's one pronouncement was, '**On the day thou eatest thereof thou shalt surely die.**' And that sentence has been carried out ever since the day on which the judgment was delivered. When man rebelled and sinned he died; that is to say, he passed from a state of which the condition was life to a state of which the condition was death. He was expatriated from the Father's home, he was turned from light to darkness, and in that state he has been ever since. Every single inconvenience that men suffer, every ache and pain of body or mind, even every accident that befalls us, as well as all the contradictions we have daily to encounter, are the incidental results of that expatriation.

Of course, the All-knowing foreknew all these consequences of His judgment, but the consequences were no essential part of the judgment itself. In one sense they are the brightest and most hopeful things in connection with it. It is these very incidental sufferings that make men yearn for a lot in which they shall have no place. It is this 'weariness' that in the long run 'tosses' man, as George Herbert puts it, once more to the Father's breast. It is only when sin is removed that sorrow and sighing flee away; and sorrow and sighing, which are the incidents, will never so flee until sin, which is the cause of them, is actually removed. Hell is only the orderly evolution and development of the natural consequences of the sentence into the acute stage, which accrues to the soul as the result of the removal of the good. Thus, hell itself is only

¹ Lactantius, 'Divine Institutes,' vi. 1: 'That sacred and surpassing Majesty requires from man nothing more than innocence alone; and if anyone has presented this to God he has sacrificed with sufficient piety and religion.' And (2): 'This is true worship in which the mind of the worshipper presents itself as an undefiled offering to God.' Cf. also the same writer, vi. 24.

incidental to the original sentence, and it is a failure to perceive this that has led men into such egregious misconceptions of the object of the Saviour in visiting the world as man.

The judgment of the quick and dead which is yet to come is not in any sense a retrying of the original sentence, with a view to deciding who are rebels or who are not; but it is intended to discover who out of all who, without exception, were expatriated on account of their rebellion may now be received again to loyal service as being thoroughly purged from their offence. The decision is in no sense arbitrary, but is conditioned by the state of those who are subjected to it. Christ comes not to decide who shall be sheep and who goats—that matter has been settled already by the sheep and goats themselves—but to divide them one from the other, and to set the sheep on His right hand and the goats on His left.

It will be seen, then, from this explanation how hopelessly wrong is the teaching of modern popular theology. It might not be considered an easy task to formulate a theological system for those who have no positive views expressed for them in any recognised authoritative summary; but as a matter of fact it is quite easy to gather their doctrine—what there is of it—from the published works of popular modern preachers.

‘Men,’ they say, ‘are going to be punished for sin. That punishment will be hell fire. God, however, loves men, and wants to save them from this dreadful punishment. He is not only loving, but righteous, and His righteousness demands that sin shall be punished. This punishment, from the nature of God, is inexorable; it must be executed, or His righteousness could not be vindicated. The problem, therefore, to be solved is how to reconcile Love and Justice.’ The solution offered is that God Himself steps down from heaven and offers Himself for punishment in the stead of man. He, in the Person of Jesus, is sacrificed upon the Cross, and this sacrifice of the only begotten Son is viewed as the necessary vindication that Justice and Righteousness demand. Therefore, since Jesus suffered instead of man, man is let off from enduring the flames of hell, and it is only required that he shall display a quality named Faith in order to savingly apprehend the benefits which accrue from such substitution.

When it is pointed out that Jesus did not endure the pain of eternal punishment in hell fire which the explanation allots as the decree of God against man on account of sin, it is gravely

urged that, inasmuch as Jesus is God as well as man, and therefore eternal on one side of His being, the punishment which He, an eternal Being, endured is on that account of an eternal nature, and in the view of God an equivalent of the eternal burning in hell, which is the punishment for which it is accepted as a completely satisfactory substitution.

Now, we think it is not too much to say that such doctrine is simply horrible. There is not only no reason in it, but it is alike degrading to the God who proposes such a way out of the difficulty, and to men who are mean enough to accept salvation, as they call it, on such terms. How is it possible for men who hold such doctrines to understand the ordinances of God, who is as different from the unjust judge of this parody of justice as the stories of the Bible are from the fables of Hindu superstition? And can that God be just who accepts the punishment of an innocent Being as a satisfactory expiation for the guilt of a criminal? Surely it is the very quintessence of selfishness which prompts a man to accept his deliverance on such shameful terms. Fortunately, men are better than their creeds, and it is a testimony to the innate manliness of the race that its virility has not been irretrievably sapped by teaching such as this.

CHAPTER II

THE SUFFERINGS AND DEATH OF CHRIST AN ADEQUATE CONFESSION OF THE SIN OF MAN

WE insisted in the last chapter upon the importance of bearing in mind that the sufferings of Christ were a counterpart of our sufferings, and not a substitution for them. Men are not on account of those sufferings excused from or enabled to evade any part of God's original sentence against sin, though it is true that they may escape the extremes of the incidental consequences of that sentence if they avail themselves of the means provided for their salvation in the present stage of their existence. There is no necessity that they should, unless they themselves so will it, pass into that estate of *outer* or *utter* darkness in which their lot is no longer ameliorated by the society of the good.

We insisted on the importance of viewing those sufferings in this light because, if we learn so to view them, we shall find that we shall gain higher and nobler conceptions both of the character of God and of the worth and dignity of man. We shall see at once that the redeemed are not regarded by God as mere salvage. The purpose of the Christian religion is no longer declared to be or in any sense presented as a terrifying of damned souls into making peace with offended Divinity. Men must seek reconciliation, if they seek it at all, on the ground that whilst living in sin they are not fulfilling the object of their existence. They must be taught that God's object in seeking their salvation is that they may enjoy to the full all the latent possibilities of their manhood. In returning to a state of communion with God they must proffer Him their loyalty because they recognise the worth and value of that loyalty in the eyes of the Heavenly King. They are no longer tempted to

cringe to Him in the act of submission because, like cowed hounds shivering to the master's feet, they seek to evade a whipping. And in saying this it must not be thought that we employ the illustration with any other object in view than that of lucidity in statement. We use the word cringe, not because we desire in the very least to speak disrespectfully or slightly of the views of those who differ from us, nor because we wish it to be inferred that the holding of those views which we would discredit implies the absence of sincere affection for God on the part of those who in our opinion most unfortunately entertain them. The hound that dreads the lash—to return to the illustration—often sincerely loves the master who inflicts it, and will, moreover, fight with bravery on behalf of him who, when necessity demands it, administers the scourging. The most extravagant demonstrations of affection are as a rule manifested by those whose allegiance is secured solely by a system of punishments and rewards. We know by experience that it is not only possible, but customary, for men and women to love God with a violent exhibition of affection who regard Him as sending His Son into the world for the express purpose of sparing them the pains of hell and obtaining for them on the merits of Jesus' suffering the sensuous delights of a paradise regained.

Still, however much we may seem by insistence upon this view to depreciate the character and even to pain the minds of those who differ from us, we are compelled to point out that an affection for God which is excited by such methods must inevitably be of that sentimental kind that higher and finer natures instinctively dislike. It wearies and distresses them to be subjected to the effusiveness of such shallow, though not necessarily unreal, transports. A profession of submission to God on such terms is not sought by Him, nor is it contemplated or provided for in the scheme of salvation propounded by the Bible and the Church. It is no gain to Heaven, and it is no honour to God that such valueless salvage should be tossed on to the golden shore by the shallow waves of emotion. God seeks not a fawning but an exalted man; not one who throughout eternity shall be for ever belauding Him with fulsome praise, but one who shall be ever both capable and ready with a service of loyal and skilful obedience. Adulation may be agreeable to a passionate despot, but activity and capacity in service is what is sought by a wise and beneficent King. For the rendering of that service subjects are required com-

plete in all the qualities that go to the making of a perfect man ; hence it is that the Scriptures of the New Testament insist so strongly upon the necessity for the attainment of that completeness in Christ. We shall all remember with what urgency the Apostle St. Paul insists upon this completeness, and how he set it consciously before himself as the one end and object of his life. It was the prize of his high calling. It was the one thing to which he was always pressing forward. No one ever more keenly realized than he did the deficiencies of unregenerate human nature and its consequent unfitness for the heavenly service ; and it was because he realized it so strongly, and felt it so keenly, that he fought so hard with opposing hindrances to achieve this perfection which the fact of the Incarnation placed within the reach of fallen man. It was no valid excuse for shortcomings that he jumped at, nor any good-natured oversight of recognised unworthiness. It was not merely as a pardoned criminal that he sought reprieve from benevolent heavenly government. He desired to enter heaven as a welcome, an honoured and an acceptable guest. That he should be regarded merely as a pardoned sinner was not in itself an adequate inducement. No one ever perceived more clearly than he did the evidences of sin in the body which it defiled and degraded ; and it was just because he perceived it so clearly that he sought so eagerly for emancipation. It was transformation rather than reprieve that he craved, and this with a view to his ultimate recognition as a worthy associate and a loved and trusted friend of Him whose friendship was alone worth securing. What he desired was that God should love him and respect him for what he was, and not that He should excuse him for not being all that he might be and ought to be ; and any view of Christianity must necessarily be inadequate which does not include the recognition of the possibility of such high achievement. He taught that men must be led to present themselves, their souls and bodies as a living sacrifice acceptable unto God, and that this, and this alone, was their reasonable service. Any purpose in religion, then, which does not include the proffer of such an acceptable gift to God must be an unworthy and incomplete one.

In the oblation of the Christian Eucharist this offer is continuously made. The utter obedience of the Saviour is shown forth in the symbols which commemorate the ultimate consequences of it because, and only because, it is regarded in the

eyes of God as the counterpart of an obedience, which is expected from and is therein expressed as proffered by those who celebrate the memorial.

But in saying this, it must not be thought that we have out of mind the objective value of that sacrifice of obedience unto death which in the Eucharistic offering is commemorated. If the future alone had to be considered, it is conceivable that the proffer of an obedience which sought in simple faith to be a counterpart of the obedience of the Saviour might do all that was required, and that by the subjective reception of the grace, which such an acceptable service was calculated to draw down upon the offerer, a return to perfect loyalty might eventually be effected and man restored to his lost estate. But we know that this is not all that is contained in, and expressed by, the Eucharistic sacrifice. Every man who seeks such restoration and reconciliation stands convicted in his own conscience of sin, and knows even whilst he seeks rehabilitation that he is guilty not only of wilful rebellion against God, but of acts of selfishness and contradiction in respect of his fellow-man, for which reparation must be exacted, and the penalty which justice demands be inflicted. And not only so. Not only does he know, or should he know, that justice demands the infliction of the adequate penalty, but that such adequate penalty must be inflicted to the full upon the guilty and upon none other: and this brings us to the consideration of a truth in regard to atonement that we must never have out of mind. In order to the adequate vindication of the justice and righteousness of Him who inflicts it, the penalty must be endured by the guilty willingly, with a full sense of his guilt, and with a frank and unreserved acknowledgment that in so enduring it he is only receiving the due reward of his deeds. It was because the confession of the dying thief was invested exactly with this character that it received so ready an acknowledgment by the Saviour on the cross. There must be no desire of evasion on the part of the sinner, no hope or wish to be excused, no thought, however distant and remote, that another's sufferings may be accepted instead of his own. He must himself realize to the full the inconveniences of separation from Light and Love.¹ He must feel, and feel keenly, the misery inflicted

¹ It is this that makes it more difficult for the rich man to enter into the kingdom of God. His riches enable him to evade many of these inconveniences.

by the contradiction of fellow-sinners against himself. He must experience the pains of toil, weariness, sickness, and natural death. All this he must realize, and must realize, moreover, that in the cheerful acquiescence in all this, combined with an ample acknowledgment of its necessity, lies the sole hope of his acceptance by God, who is not only Love, but Righteousness; and who, because He is Righteousness as well as Love, is so completely worthy of man's highest and most unselfish devotion.

The atoning effect of suffering lies not in the endurance alone. Of course we all have to endure suffering. The value of such willing endurance lies in the full and adequate acknowledgment of its necessity. And it is here that the connection of our sufferings with the sufferings of Him whose passion was the counterpart of ours comes in. For such full and adequate acknowledgment as we have declared to be essential to atonement is impossible as a spontaneous act on the part of man, and therefore a return to loyalty and acceptance is outside the limits of human achievement.¹ And here we arrive literally at the crux which the Passion of the Saviour, of which His cross was the culmination, is designed to remove. It is just here that the corresponding endurance of the Saviour comes in, and provides the means whereby such adequate acknowledgment can be made.

No one, we suppose, would deny that if Jesus be all that He claimed to be, all that the Scriptures and the Church proclaim Him to be, He could have made such adequate acknowledgment. He knew the Father's will, and on the assumption that His claims were just as we believe that they

¹ 'As to ourselves and the light in which we see all that concerns our relation to God in contemplating the Son's dealing with the Father on our behalf, if we understand the elements of that which we contemplate, we must feel that it is what, could we have offered it to God, was due from ourselves; and that, could we have offered it, it would have been an atonement such as no endurance of punishment could ever have been. This we must feel, though at the same time we feel that to have made it *was as impossible for us as to have made ourselves divine*; while yet we also see that we must partake in it, and must have its elements reproduced in us, for that these elements constitute the mind in which we who have sinned against God, and been rebellious children, must return to the Father of our spirits if we are to return at all; that Christ is indeed the Way, and the Truth, and the Life; that no man can come to the Father but by Him.'—MCLEOD CAMPBELL: *Nature of the Atonement*, third edition, p. 294.

were, He could sound all the depths not only of the Divine love, but also of the Divine righteousness, and with a full knowledge of all that such Divine righteousness requires He could with a view to its vindication assume and bear with utter content and unfaltering submission all that such righteousness finds it necessary to permit or allot for the sake of its own vindication. He could do this if and because He was what He was. We cannot do it simply because we are not what He was. By our fall from such an estate as He enjoyed we have lost the capacity to make any such acknowledgment, nor is it possible that if left to ourselves we could ever re-acquire such capacity. The only possibility of man's being able to do likewise is that some means shall be provided whereby the man faulty and incapable may become incorporate with the Man faultless and capable. To the ignorant must be imparted the wisdom of the knowing. By sharing with Him the life which He lived in the light of full knowledge, must we and can we alone obtain the means whereby we, too, may make the same acknowledgment, by the expression of which in our similar endurance in similar spirit we may vindicate as He vindicated the righteousness of the holy God. And this, as McLeod Campbell points out, is what the Evangelist meant when he said, 'If we confess our sins, He is faithful and just to forgive us our sins and to cleanse us from all unrighteousness.' And it is because of the natural incapacity of man to proffer any such acceptable and efficacious confession that he must be made miraculously to partake of and to share in a life similar to his own in all respects so far as the endurance of the sentence against sin and of the consequences incidental to that sentence is concerned, but necessarily dissimilar in this one other respect, that it is a life invested with the fullest possible sense of the requirements of Divine justice—a life tried in all points like as ours is and yet without sin. There is therefore in the Eucharistical service provision made for the expression of the fact of this need, and for the continuous transference by miracle of the life of Jesus into our life.¹ And

¹ 'This high capacity of good pertaining to humanity is not, indeed, to be contemplated as belonging to us apart from our relation to the Son of God. . . . There must be a relation between the Son of God and the sons of men, not according to the flesh only, but also according to the spirit, and the head of every man *be* Christ. If we see this double relation as subsisting between Christ and men, if we see Him as the Lord of their

here, be it observed, there is no thought of substitution. The suffering life of Christ and the suffering life of all other men are in respect of such suffering parallel. 'He was in all points tried like as we are'—not more than we are. He endured the same contradiction of sinners against Himself that we have to endure against ourselves. He suffered the same pains of dying, the same pangs of death, that we have to endure. It behoved Him to be made in all respects like unto His brethren; and He was so made. His human life corresponds with ours in every respect save that of sin. Never at any single moment of that life, be it said with all reverence, could He by any possibility have contemplated that in so suffering and enduring He was providing a means whereby any man might avoid similar suffering. He often spoke of the object of His mission, which He described variously as being 'to save His people from their sins,' 'to lay down His life for the sheep,' 'to give His life a ransom for many,' 'to give eternal life,' 'to seek and to save that which was lost,' and so forth; but never once did He employ language which would imply that there was any thought in the Father's mind or in His own that His sufferings were to be held to excuse men from similar suffering, or to enable them to evade the contradiction of sinners against themselves. What He came to do was to proffer to men a life, a real life, a human life, a life as real as theirs, and the same as theirs, by the union of which with man's life and the consequent transference of virtue from Him to them, men might acquire a knowledge of the Love and Truth which reside in Him, and through such acquirement win their freedom by making eventually the same sufficient confession¹ which the perfection

spirits, as well as a partaker in their flesh, that air of legal fiction which, in contemplating the Atonement, attaches to our identification with Christ and Christ's identification with us, so long as this is contemplated as matter of eternal arrangement, will pass away, and the depth and reality of the bonds which connect the Saviour and the saved will bear the weight of this identification, and fully justify to the enlightened conscience that constitution of things in which Christ's confession of our sins expiates them, and Christ's righteousness in humanity clothes us with its own interest in the sight of God.'—MCLEOD CAMPBELL: *Nature of the Atonement*, third edition, p. 160.

¹ 'To say that the blood of Christ "cleanseth us from all sin," and to say that it purges the conscience from dead works to serve the living God, are but different ways of declaring the spiritual power of the Atonement when apprehended by faith—asserting its fitness for being partaken in by

of His sinless manhood and His consequent perfect union with the Godhead enabled Him to make.¹ When we have learned to look upon separation from God, and its consequent suffering and death, and all the contradiction to which such separation exposes us, as the just penalty of sin, and when so regarding them we can bear them with the same humility that Jesus displayed, and the same submission which characterized His endurance of them (a submission which was in fact an obedience unto death, even the death of the Cross, and which becomes in our case also an obedience unto death, even the death of our own cross, which we have learned as He instructed us to take up and bear after Him), then and not till then is our confession complete.

For consider exactly what our endurance of the contradiction of sinners against ourselves means. It is in point of fact the endurance by us of the outgoings of selfishness in others which is in essence the counterpart of the endurance by others of the outgoings of selfishness and sin in ourselves. The effect of such endurance, then, is *reddere debitum*—it is to pay the debt. And so also in respect of our disloyalty to the Heavenly King, the endurance of the sentence of outlawry, of separation from Him, is *reddere debitum*—to pay the debt which our disobedience and wilfulness has incurred. It might be possible, in so far as our debt to God is alone concerned, that a return to complete obedience would be considered a sufficient discharge. For rebellion can inflict upon Him no sort of injury that could by any possibility be visited upon us, nor could it produce harmful consequences upon His person or His state which could have more than a momentary effect, or

us as the mind of Christ in relation to our sin. And so the words are added in relation to *our own participation in Christ's expiatory confession of our sin*. "If we say that we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us. *If we confess our sins*, He is faithful and just to forgive us our sins, and to cleanse us from all unrighteousness."—MCLEOD CAMPBELL: *Nature of the Atonement*, p. 196.

¹ For a full and complete exposition of the nature of this confession we must refer our readers to the sixth chapter of McLeod Campbell's book ('Nature of the Atonement,' third edition, p. 129 ff.), more particularly to that section (p. 135) beginning with the words 'That oneness with the Father,' etc. The section is too long to quote here. It is, in effect, the key to that doctrine respecting the Atonement which he advocates, and which, as we have stated in the Introduction, we have adopted as supplying the solid bases of thought on which Catholic theology must permanently and ultimately rest.

an effect, at any rate, which could last longer than the rebellion itself lasted.¹ But as regards our relation to our fellow-men, the consequences of sin are manifold and involved: transgression begets transgression, and our primary estrangement from God has involved us in actions from which nothing but an endurance of the remotest penal consequences of estrangement can free us.

The sufferings of Jesus Christ were not endured with a view to the payment on His own account of any debt. He owed nothing to God: He owed nothing to man—nothing, that is to say, which necessitated the payment of suffering for its discharge. And, therefore, to view His sufferings in the light of payment of debt is to take a totally incorrect view of them. They were atoning in character, not because they in any sense discharged a debt which we ourselves were not paying, or which we ourselves were incapable of paying, but because they provided a means whereby we might, ourselves, be enabled to proffer our own endurance of similar sufferings as payment. In Christ we can do that which apart from Him we never could have done. No sooner does our union with Him become a commencing reality than we begin to view life and all the inconveniences, contradictions, and pains of living in quite another aspect. We no longer repine at suffering; no longer do we kick against the pricks; no longer do we repine and chafe under the burden of our heavy lot. We gather all these things together, as it were, and view them as blessings; we do not any longer ask to part with them. We see in them the wholesome chastisements of a loving Father. We learn to say, 'Whom the Lord loveth He chasteneth, and scourgeth every son whom He receiveth.' We kiss the rod.² Apart from Christ human nature cries out rebelliously, and querulously, and with far more vehemence than did Jesus, 'Let this cup pass from me.' In Him, it learns to say meekly and in the same spirit in which He said it, 'Not My will, but Thine, be done.' And it is not until we learn to say it as He said it,

¹ Cf. Magee, 'Atonement,' p. 51.

² 'In the light of the Atonement, which reveals the Father to us in the Son, we bless God that not our wishes in our darkness, but God's own Fatherliness and our capacity of sonship have determined the nature of the grace extended to us. Nor would we now desire to see one terror that is connected with sin separated from it, or one token of the Divine displeasure against it withdrawn.'—MCLEOD CAMPBELL: *Nature of the Atonement*, p. 210.

and to drink the Cup as He drank it, and to take up and carry our cross as He took up and carried His, that our atonement is complete, and we are in a position to say, even as He said, 'It is finished! Father, into Thy hands I commend My spirit.'

The Eucharist is the expression of all this. It is not a propitiatory sacrifice in the ordinary acceptation of the term, though it receives much of its meaning, and all of its force from the sacrifice of the death of Christ. In the Christian scheme of redemption there is no such thing as propitiation—that is to say propitiation viewed as a something to be done to induce God to look graciously upon man.¹ For God never has regarded man otherwise than with love. He loves us with an everlasting love, and a love that is changeless and unbroken. To offer anything to Him with a view to make Him gracious to us is to calumniate Him, to misunderstand, and to misrepresent Him. It would be as though the darling child of a fond earthly mother should seek to buy that mother's smile with the offer of a halfpenny. It is not difficult to imagine what the mother's feelings would be. Would she not cry out in very anguish of heart, 'My child, how little you know of a mother's love! How can you think that the love of one who is willing to die for you, or to suffer hunger and pain, to shield you from distress, can be bought by the tender of a puny propitiatory gift? I never had any feelings for you other than those of love, my dear one! It is not your gift, but you, that I

¹ It may be asked, What, then, is the meaning of those passages of Scripture which speak of God's wrath against sin, and of men as 'children of wrath'? But it must be borne in mind that love and wrath are entirely compatible. The angry father, compelled to indignation by the folly or wickedness of his child, does not cease to love him because his sense of what is right and just and good moves him to temporary displeasure. Love is the permanent abiding quality which continuously urges him to take steps for the reclamation of his child. The manifestation of wrath is an evidence of the interest which is excited by love. Absence of wrath when the occasion demanded a display of it would imply indifference. The Scriptures nowhere, be it noted, speak of an everlasting wrath, because wrath is not an abiding quality of the Divine essence as love is. Love is as eternal as God Himself, because God is love.

'An atonement to make God gracious, to move Him to compassion, to turn His heart toward those from whom sin had alienated His love, it would indeed be difficult to believe in, for, if it were needed, it would be impossible. To awaken to the sense of the need of such an atonement would certainly be to awaken to utter and absolute despair.'—MCLEOD CAMPBELL: *Nature of the Atonement*, chapter i., p. 20, third edition.

want, and the love of your truest tenderest self !' The illustration we know is imperfect, but it is only so in degree. It fails only because it is not forcible enough. 'A mother may forget, yet will I not forget thee.' We need not stay now to explain or to justify the translation of *ἱλασμός*, in our English version of the Epistle of St. John, by the word 'propitiation'; there is, of course, a sense in which the word is used correctly.¹ It is, however, necessary for us to see clearly that what God requires of us is not acts done with a view to change His feelings, or to alter an assumed attitude of hostility to one of friendliness and good humour. In a word, the object of the Eucharist is not propitiation in the popular meaning of the word, but reconciliation, and reconciliation on the only terms upon which it can be effectual and lasting—that is to say, by the entire submission of our will to His. It must be a submission which looks back to the past, and says, 'It is well'; that looks into the present and says, 'I am content'; that looks into the future, and to a possible cup of pain and sorrow, and a certain cup of death, and says, 'Not my will, but Thine, be done'; that reaches forward beyond death itself to the æons yet to be unfolded, and only asks the happiness through all of them of serving the highest wisdom, the truest truth, the most unsullied purity with a service of unfaltering obedience, because it perceives that in such obedience the soul achieves its most perfect freedom.

No, it is not propitiatory sacrifice that is the essence of the Eucharistical offering; it is the devotion of the offerer's self; it is the proffer of submission and obedience; it is the expression of a willingness to suffer in the same way and with the same

¹ Dr. Magee ('The Atonement,' Cassell, 1887, p. 24) defines it thus: 'Christ has done that which makes it possible that our sins should be forgiven by God. This is the exact and precise meaning of the word "propitiation." It means in every language that transaction, that thing done or suffered by or for an offender, which takes away his offence so completely that the being he has offended can regard and treat him as if he had not offended. That is, it always supposes some hindrance to forgiveness which must be removed in order to obtain it. *What the hindrance may be will, of course, vary with the nature of the case.* It may be the displeasure simply of the offended person, or it may be the justice of the case which requires some reparation, or it may be something in the nature and disposition of the offending person which must be in some way altered before he can be regarded with favour. But whatever it may be, it is a hindrance to his forgiveness which must be removed before he can be forgiven, and this removal we call "propitiation."'

willingness that Christ suffered ; it declares the willingness of the offerer to hang with Him upon the Cross, and to endure with patience the contradiction and the death of which His own were the counterparts. And further, it is the proffer of our whole man—renewed in Christ Jesus, transformed by the life that is derived from Him—as an offering, acceptable and welcome to, and entirely in accordance with the feelings of the Heavenly Father's heart. All this is expressed in the memorial which in the Eucharist we make before God. And viewed in this way the Sacrament becomes, as it were, the very apex of a Christian's spiritual experience. For it is the uplifting of the man out of the sordid atmosphere of his earthly environment into the heavenly places themselves ; it is the crowning of his manhood with the highest dignity which it is capable of receiving upon earth ; it is the translation of our spiritual being from the realm of the Prince of this World into that of the King of Love.

CHAPTER III

SOME ATTEMPTS AT EXPLANATION REVIEWED

THE heading to this chapter must not be taken to mean that we commit ourselves thereby to an examination of all those efforts at explanation of the doctrine of atonement which appear to be inadequate to the solution of the moral and intellectual difficulties which the bare statement of it seems to suggest. Even if we had the desire to do this, which we have not, or thought that such exhaustive examination would be likely to be useful, which we do not, we have neither the time nor the means at our disposal which such an undertaking would require. Most of these explanations are now obsolete, and interesting not because of any present influence which they exert in moulding or directing modern opinion, but merely as illustrations of phases of thought and feeling which affected Christian life in past time. Dale's well-known work on the subject we cannot deal with here. It is to some extent parallel with the present treatise, and with a good deal of it we find ourselves in agreement. In two respects it seems to us to be deficient: first, in not connecting the doctrine with the Eucharist as the continuous exposition in the Church of the fact which it declares; and, secondly, in not fully explaining all the data of the problem which his argument affects to solve. It would, however, be ungracious not to acknowledge our indebtedness to him for the excellent work he has done, for the evident care which he has taken in presenting his views, and for the service which his book has been, and, doubtless, will continue to be, to thousands of earnest believers in revealed religion. The same remarks will very nearly apply to McLeod Campbell's treatise on the 'Nature of the Atonement,' though in his case we wish to express our more entire concurrence

with the principles upon which his argument is based. We should have been content to have left the matter as he left it in the work referred to did it not seem to us that an exposition was demanded which should carry the conclusions arrived at therein a stage further and link them on to the services of the Catholic Church. Such extended application appears to us to be necessary in order that their exposition may be perceived in other quarters than those to which such purely philosophical treatment as he allots to them necessarily confines them. They need, in fact, to be brought into direct connection with the religious life of the day. As a philosophical exposition, his book seems to us to be almost faultless—faultless not only on account of the fairness of his statements and the reasonableness of his arguments, but on account also of the beautiful spirit which animates it from beginning to end.

The explanation which will probably be most familiar to our readers is that which is contained in the late Archbishop Magee's little book, which is published by Cassell in the 'Helps to Belief' series. The learned writer does not profess to do more than remove hindrances to the acceptance of the doctrine, which he avows his inability to explain. But he does indicate certain lines along which he suggests that our thoughts should travel in seeking for satisfaction in respect of it, and outlines briefly in the last chapter a theory the acceptance of which is, he says, calculated to 'make the doctrine in some degree easier of belief.' The treatise is a remarkable one in many ways, and though brief, is, we believe, the only one put forward by a writer of the Church of England which deals frankly with the ethical difficulties presented by puritanical misrepresentations of those Scriptural statements upon which the doctrine rests. In one respect the treatise is a model for writers on subjects of religious difficulty. There is a desire manifest in every word of it to face courageously the objections raised by honest opponents. If ever a man displayed determination to seek truth for its own sake, it is the author of this little book. The views of objectors on moral grounds are stated by him with a fulness which leaves nothing to be desired and a lucidity which they themselves would find it hard to equal and impossible to excel. To many it may appear that the Archbishop, in dealing with these objections, has really removed difficulties which they have felt for themselves or which have been presented to them in the writings of others.

But apart from the fact that the general conclusion arrived at is that no definite and completely satisfactory solution can be found, owing to the imperfect state of our present knowledge, it does not appear to us that, fascinating and attractive as his manner of presenting his case undoubtedly is, he has altogether correctly indicated the direction in which even such partial relief as he professes to give should be sought. His arguments seem to be, in a word, inconclusive and unsatisfying in respect of the Christian doctrine of forgiveness. Let us endeavour, then, to set forth the particulars in which his explanation in respect of this aspect of the doctrine appears to be inadequate.

Having shown clearly enough that no difficulty as to the possibility of Divine forgiveness arises from any unwillingness to forgive inherent in the nature of God, he proceeds to deal with the question why—if God be so compassionate, so ready to extend forgiveness, so infinitely more loving and gracious than the best and kindest of men, who are often found to be so ready to forgive—penitence on the part of the offender should be required as ‘a condition precedent to God’s regarding us forgivingly.’¹ But surely in the sentence just quoted a wrong direction is given to thought by the Archbishop’s words in so stating the matter. Penitence is a necessary antecedent to forgiveness, no doubt; but is it right to speak of it as a ‘condition’? We are anxious not to seem to quibble about words; but at the risk of appearing to do so, we must insist on a distinction being drawn in this case between penitence which leads to the definite act which fulfils the required ‘condition,’ and that act itself. The passage of Scripture which is the text of the Archbishop’s exposition is that from the First Epistle of St. John, which says that, ‘If we confess our sins, He is faithful and just to forgive us our sins, and to cleanse us from all unrighteousness.’ The matter as here stated is quite clear. ‘Confession’ is the condition upon which forgiveness is justly extended; and though it is true that an adequate confession is inconceivable apart from an antecedent repentance, yet it is necessary, in order to clearness of thought, that the forgiveness should be seen to depend upon the confession for which repentance is such a necessary preparation, and not in the repentance itself, which, considered apart from the subsequent confession, cannot be regarded as possessing in itself atoning efficacy, though doubtless if it be

¹ Magee, ‘Atonement,’ p. 53.

truly felt, it will lead the penitent on to the performance of that which does. We shall see more clearly the reason for insisting on this distinction later.

Having thus shown that the difficulty which stands in the way of forgiveness is not interposed by God's unwillingness to be reconciled to man, the Archbishop next proceeds to demonstrate the presence of some insuperable obstacle to the extension of free forgiveness inherent in the nature of forgiveness itself. But here some confusion of thought arises in his argument on account of his not being sufficiently careful to allow for the distinction which must ever be borne in mind between forgiveness itself and the effect which such forgiveness may be considered to have upon the relationship between forgiver and forgiven. The Archbishop seems only to have contemplated one possible issue of forgiveness, namely, remission of penalty, and to have overlooked the fact that there is another issue of vastly greater moment than this, one which, indeed, is essential to the existence of true forgiveness, which remission of penalty is not—we mean the effectual reconciliation of the offender and the offended. The writer has assumed that all forgiveness to be full and complete must necessarily include remission of penalty as well as reconciliation, and has taken it for granted that unless such remission take place in every instance of forgiveness so called, such forgiveness is not really forgiveness at all, whereas, in truth, the very opposite is the case. We are not prepared to say exactly that no forgiveness is complete which does not include the endurance of penalty by the one forgiven, but we do say most emphatically that a reconciliation effected subsequently to such willing endurance of the just resentment of, or just chastisement by the one offended is a much stronger and a much nobler thing for both than a reconciliation effected on the score of the good nature of the offended party merely. No human father ever so fully forgives an erring child as he who has previous to the perfect reconciliation between his offending son and himself administered the castigation which justice demanded as an adequate punishment for the offence. Both offender and offended are placed on a higher footing of mutual respect, as well as affection, when the unflinching justice of the father, and the penitent acknowledgment of his fault by the child, issues in the frank and trusting friendship which a recognition of such justice as not disturbing mutual love makes so entirely worthy of each of them. In such a case the

forgiveness is as perfect as human forgiveness can be, because the reconciliation between father and child is so utterly complete; in no other way, indeed, could the fault be so effectually purged and the recollection of the wrong-doing so completely effaced. The forgiveness is perfect, but for all that it has not included the remission of penalty. But let us see what the Archbishop has to say about this. How, he asks, can forgiveness be possible when

(a) We note that 'penalties for offences are not arbitrary inflictions imposed by mere will and choice, and therefore to be remitted for any reason or for none, but are the necessary and natural consequences of men's own acts'? or when

(b) We consider God as 'the ruler of a righteous social system governed by revealed precepts, to be enforced by threatened penalties just as human laws are in human kingdoms? Can we imagine the existence of any state, any settled order of human life, in which every offender was pardoned the moment he was sorry for his offence?'

The difficulty raised by the first of these considerations needs no discussion. The Archbishop has stated the facts clearly enough, and it is hard to understand why he should have thought it necessary so to have urged the point. He says truly that those laws which govern moral actions are as 'fixed, inevitable—ay, as unerringly pitiless'—as those physical laws by which the natural world is continuously governed. So they are. Men sin and suffer the consequences. Since, then, there is no remission of penalty, why need a question as to the possibility of such remission ever have been raised? Nowhere in the Bible are we taught to look for such remission, though we are taught to seek reconciliation. And if such remission of penalty is something for which no provision is made in the scheme of atonement proposed by the Scriptures and effected in the Church through Christ, there is no need to discuss a difficulty in connection with it which should have no possible chance of asserting itself.

And in respect of the second of those considerations, we must see in the light of what has been already said that a certain confusion of thought arises from the fact that sufficient pains have not been taken to define previously the exact meaning of the word *pardon*. For whilst it is true that *pardon* (in the sense of *remission of penalties*) may include forgiveness, it is not at all correct to say, and it is quite wrong to assume, that

forgiveness (in the sense of restoration to favour) necessarily carries with it the fact of *pardon*. When, therefore, the Archbishop asks, 'How can forgiveness be possible if God be viewed as actuated by the same principles which operate in deciding the action of a just ruler of a human kingdom in withholding pardon from grievous offenders against the common weal of which he is the head and for the well-being of which he is responsible?' we answer that his logic is at fault in so stating the case. It is quite impossible for a just earthly ruler with a full regard to his responsibility to pardon offenders when sorry for their offences, and to remit thereby all the penalties due for them; but it is not at all impossible for God to extend to men a forgiveness which need not, and in fact never does, include the remission of penalties. There is, in fact, no analogy between the two cases, and therefore there is no difficulty except an unnecessary one of the writer's own making. It cannot be too often or too strongly urged that it is no part of God's purpose to remit penalty. Men have to endure the consequences of their sins, and to bear all the miseries of their penal separation from God, all the contradiction, and suffering, and death incidental to their sinning estate, without remission. And yet God forgives, and His forgiveness includes reconciliation, with all the delightful consequences of restoration to the Divine favour when the endurance of penalties is over; but the forgiveness with which the Bible deals, and which the Church declares, does not include remission of penalty, nor does it mean pardon in the sense in which that word would be used by an earthly ruler to denote reprieve of sentence on offenders against the society of which he was the earthly head.¹

¹ 'I have asked, "Can the moral governor remain unsatisfied if the Father of Spirits is satisfied?" The converse of this question is, "Can the moral governor be satisfied while the Father of Spirits is not?" To suppose that peace can ever be justifiable on the ground "He suffered, therefore I shall not suffer," is to answer this question in the affirmative—it is to suppose that when Christ suffered, the just for the unjust, the *direct* end was that the unjust should not suffer. Now, we cannot doubt the pain which the exposure of the unjust to suffering was to God, or the desire of His heart to save them from suffering; but we must not forget that the original reason for connecting sin and misery still continued, that that connection was not arbitrary, that the wrath of God revealed against all unrighteousness of men was not a feeling that has passed, or that could pass away; no revelation of the unchanging God could. Therefore, when the just suffered for the unjust, it was with the direct purpose of bringing the unjust to God

But let us see how the Archbishop himself proposes to escape from the difficulties which his method of stating the case have raised. 'Seeing,' he says, 'that there is no place for that forgiveness which removes all penalty for evil doing—nay, not though men seek it carefully and with tears . . . therefore if we are to be saved from sin it can only be by some suppression of, some interference with this system of laws which shall in some way withdraw us from what would otherwise be their inevitable and necessary operation.' But surely this explanation is a woefully inadequate one! For in the first place we are not withdrawn from 'their inevitable and necessary operation'; and, secondly, if we were so withdrawn such withdrawal might be considered to be, and indeed would be, an evasion, but in no sense a satisfaction of justice. What the Archbishop failed to perceive in this connection was that the effect of the sinner's contact with the Saviour and the New Birth which is brought about by such contact is not withdrawal from such operation of moral law, but the enabling him (the sinner) to make the willing confession which is the condition of forgiveness demanded by the Scriptures. And here we note the importance of insisting upon a distinction to which we drew attention a few pages back: God nowhere urges repentance as a condition of forgiveness, but He does say that 'if we confess our sins, He is faithful and just to forgive them.' And it is in Christ that men receive the power to confess, and only in Him that they are enabled to understand the need for such confession, and so to acknowledge that God *in not interfering with the operation of this system of laws is just*.

And if it be asked What, then, is penitence, and what is its exact relation to the doctrine of forgiveness? we answer that God first seeks to win men by the exhibition of His love as manifested in the Person of the Saviour. Man is a creature of free will, and in returning to God he is drawn by no compulsion other than of that gentle kind which is exerted by love.¹ Man must be won by the attractiveness of love alone,

—that is, bringing the unjust to the obedience of the just, *leaving the connection between suffering and injustice or sin undissolved, the righteousness of that connection being unchanged.*'—MCLEOD CAMPBELL: *Nature of the Atonement*, third edition, p. 209.

¹ There is an exquisite passage in the Epistle to Diognetus which exactly expresses this. After describing the power of the Son of God as manifested in creation, and His glory and majesty in nature, he continues:

and so be led on to sue for the grace whereby he may become one with Christ. Repentance, then, is the evidence of such willing return ; it is, in fact, not a condition of forgiveness at all, but rather the inevitable antecedent to that willing confession which Scripture declares to be the condition.

There is another difficulty raised by the Archbishop in connection with this subject of forgiveness, which is set out more fully in a sermon preached by him before the University of Oxford on October 24, 1880, and which ought, we think, to be dealt with here. His argument is of an *a fortiori* character. Human forgiveness is opposed to the idea of human justice ; how much more, then, must Divine forgiveness be incompatible with a Divine justice, which is so much more perfect and inexorable than man's ? He bases his argument on the assumption that an offender against his fellow is answerable not only for the offence and the direct consequences of the offence, but also for the infinite effects of his transgression. ' Can forgiveness,' he says, ' cut off the consequences of his sin that goes on and on as that sin continues to injure others by its example and natural consequences, and so continues echoing and re-echoing through the ages, multiplying and replenishing the earth with its evil progeny, the birth of every fresh sin that springs from its parentage still multiplying it against the founder ? Can it do this ? Never ! And thus you will see that for one in such a constitution of things there is no remission.' We need only point in passing to the fact that the conclusion last stated is no answer to the question with which the quotation set out. To prove that there could be no *remission* would be no answer to the question Can *forgiveness* be extended ? But setting that on one side, we would ask, Is it fair or is it just to make each individual man responsible for effects which never would have resulted from his transgression except for the conditions of his environment ? The example of his sin, for instance, would have no such far-reaching effects if such wrong-doing—supposing such a thing

' This (messenger) He sent to them. Was it, then, as one might conceive, for the purpose of exercising tyranny, or of inspiring fear and terror ? By no means, but under the influence of clemency and meekness. As a king sends his son, who is also a king, so sent He Him ; as God He sent Him, as to men He sent Him, as a Saviour He sent Him, and as seeking to persuade, not to compel us, for violence has no place in the character of God. As calling us He sent Him, not as vengefully pursuing us ; as loving us He sent Him, not as judging us' (Ep. Diognetus, cap. VII.).

possible—had been perpetrated in a state in which, from the conditions of their existence, those who saw the wrong committed were not susceptible of harm. Jesus Christ, for instance, though wronged and hurt continuously by the unceasing contradiction of sinners against Himself, remained uninjured in the sense that He suffered no deterioration of character as the result of such continuous wrong-doing. Does justice, then, demand that each separate culprit shall be made responsible for effects of his action which he cannot help, and when nothing that he could possibly do could prevent its having these effects? And if it be urged that man is responsible for his environment because it was sin in man that necessitated his removal from a state of sinlessness, we would reply that that is true of the race of men viewed in the aggregate, but that each several sin now committed is itself only one of the infinite effects of the first sin, and a consequence of that removal which presses equally upon all. The consequences of wrong-doing are, it is true, infinitely prolonged, but this infinite prolongation is due to the wrongful character of original sin, and not to the effects of each several sin which is now committed by the individual against his fellow. The infinite effects of each separate transgression which is the progeny of original sin are due to the defective character of those against whom it is perpetrated, or of those in whose sight it is wrought. Does not the fact that the sinner is himself equally the sufferer from the infinite effects of others' wrong-doing balance the effect of the consequences of his own act on others? And does not heartfelt repentance, followed by ample acknowledgment and patient endurance, if need be, of the punitive award allotted to the direct transgression, do all that is required for the vindication of righteousness so far as it has been violated by the particular deed for which forgiveness is sought? And is it not so regarded by man? Is there any reason why, if we could be sure that repentance and the fruit of repentance were real in the case of any particular act of wrong-doing, we should not extend our forgiveness to him who has thus thoroughly repented, and that even in such extreme cases as murder? And let us remember that forgiveness may, as we have seen, be extended by those who are the prime sufferers by the crime, even though pardon in the sense of remission of penalty may not accompany it. We do not contend for the abolition of the

death sentence in cases of capital crime. We are only arguing the possibility of forgiveness for the offender and his reconciliation with those against whom he has offended. Does not, in fact, even a murderer's confession of his crime, his acknowledgment of the justice of his sentence, and his readiness to endure the punishment which Justice decrees as the award of his crime, do away in all right-feeling men with the resentment excited by the deed? Ought they not to forgive him? Would they utterly refuse reconciliation under such circumstances? It is not necessary that the wrong-doer should be excused the penalty which righteousness requires for its own vindication, and in order to the making by the criminal of such adequate confession as satisfies the justice of the case, and, indeed, such adequate confession could only be truly made by such willing endurance. For forgiveness does not necessarily include reprieve, though *prima facie* it appears to do so. We must, however, confess, that to us it seems impossible that forgiveness could be rightly acquired by the culprit—viewing his fault on his side only—except by an enduring, or by an utter willingness to endure—without any *arrière pensée* of hope—the sentence decreed by Justice. But where the endurance of the sentence is accompanied by such sincere repentance and such adequate confession as we have supposed, it is hardly likely that forgiveness would be withheld. In the case of minor transgressions against individuals where no such intervention of social safeguards as courts of law is called for we see this process in operation every day of our lives, and we see it without being shocked, or without its seeming to our minds that the extension of forgiveness and restoration to favour of the offender on his ample acknowledgment and reparation to those against whom the wrong was directly committed, militates against any notion of righteousness that we entertain, or that we can imagine that we ought to entertain. When we confess our sins, men *are faithful and just* to forgive us our sins, and to hold us as purged of the offence which, until such confession was amply made, destroyed all possibility of friendly intercourse between the offender and the offended. Such confession must, of course, include a willing endurance of the resentment that the act justly provoked, so long as that resentment lasted, and an acknowledgment that such resentment was rightly shown; and it must be made, not with a view to the evasion of any consequence of such just resentment, but

simply because the sense of the wrong-doing has been deeply felt by the offender, and because he longs for reconciliation with the one whom he has offended. Surely the cause of righteousness does not require that the confession which resulted in reconciliation should include the endurance of more than the consequences directly resulting from the wrong-doing. It is not right, nor is it just, that the offended person should wait to be reconciled until the offender who seeks restoration to his friendship should make reparation for all such incidental, unforeseen and unavoidable consequences of his act—bad example and so forth—which have resulted, not from any wilfulness on the part of the offender himself, but simply from the nature of an environment for which he is not responsible.

It does not seem, then, that there is that inexplicable and insuperable difficulty in human forgiveness, considered as forgiveness merely, and not as remission of penalty, that the Archbishop would have us believe. He had overlooked the fact that men do suffer the consequences of sin, and that the dread anticipation of hell is in itself no part of the measure of just retribution allotted by the Heavenly Father as necessary to be endured by men on account of sin, with a view to the vindication of the righteousness which He seeks to achieve in each of us. It is not necessary for us to repeat in this connection what we have stated, we think, with sufficient clearness in the course of the last two chapters. It was, however, needful to clear this unfortunate explanation out of the way, in order that our view of the Atonement, and its connection with the Eucharist, might not be hindered and obscured by being diverted in a wrong direction.

Our return to communion with our Heavenly Father necessitates no interference with the operation of moral law. The confession and acknowledgment which we make in the Eucharistic memorial carries with it the expression of our willingness to endure the consequences of wrong-doing to death, even the death on the Cross (and this consideration gives a new force of meaning to the Saviour's direction to His disciples to take up their crosses and follow Him); but it does not include a plea for the remission of any part of God's sentence against sin on the score of the sacrifice of Jesus Christ. In pleading the merits of His life and death we ask to be excused nothing, but we do ask to be received again to favour; and we ask it on the ground that in Jesus we have

been, or may be, enabled to effect the necessary vindication of righteousness provided for in the adequate confession which our union with Him enables us to make, and to achieve that righteousness which perfect reconciliation demands, and which in the Eucharist is set before us as the summit of human endeavour.

There is, we think, no other part of the Archbishop's explanation that we need refer to here. We are grateful to him for his book, and more grateful for the healthy atmosphere which pervades it, and which seems to lift the discussion of the subject into more spacious regions of thought than those in which it more usually moves. We could have wished that the illustration on p. 72 ('Helps to Belief: Atonement'), in which he contends that 'friendly intercourse as a familiar fact of human experience' helps to remove moral difficulty in understanding how atonement can include the idea of an intercession by the Son with the Father on behalf of men, had been more guardedly expressed. A similar illustration is, it is true, used by McLeod Campbell in that chapter of his book¹ which deals with intercession, but the context deprives it of all risk of being misunderstood, or of its being viewed by readers as an analogy which could be pressed on more than one side. It is, in fact, one of those similes which by no means runs on four legs, and yet, deficient as it appears to be in lacking, shall we say, three of its legs, it is almost impossible to invent or to apply an illustration other than that to clear the one point on which it is intended to throw light.

¹ McLeod Campbell, 'Nature of the Atonement,' p. 234.

CHAPTER IV

POSITIVE STATEMENT OF THE DOCTRINE

IN the preceding chapters we have dealt simply with views which raise difficulties in connection with the doctrine of Atonement. The difficulties do not accrue from any canons, articles, or formularies of the Church itself, nor are they suggested by the ritual or simple symbolism of acts of Catholic worship. They arise entirely out of views expressed by individuals in their endeavour to construct a reasonable theory which shall account for the Incarnation, the Passion, and the death of Jesus Christ as being antecedently necessary to the forgiveness of sins. We do not mean to imply that the Catholic Church offers no explanation. On the contrary, we think that the Sacraments are an exposition in object lesson of the meaning of the historical facts enshrined in the Creeds. Our contention is that this exposition has been darkened by veils of imperfect reasoning, which, by the devices of the Prince of this world, have been drawn in front of the mysteries. What is needed is that these veils should be rent and torn aside, in order that the Sacraments, and more particularly the Eucharist, should be allowed once more to make manifest by its symbolism and its restored aspect as the great act of oblation—the *Anamnesis of the one sacrifice*—the Catholic and primitive view of the doctrine of reconciliation which sordid modern thought has obscured.

The views which we have dealt with have been of two kinds. First there are those which are founded upon, or allied to, or have grown out of, or in some way or another depend upon, the central idea that the Saviour's sufferings were a substitute for ours. These are found upon examination to raise intellectual and moral difficulties which are insuperable, and

for which any allowance on the score of our imperfect knowledge is insufficient to account, seeing that they traverse even our human notions of justice and honour, and that it is impossible to suppose that God is less just and less honourable than an upright and self-respecting man. And, secondly, there are those other views, of which we took the late Archbishop Magee's as an instance, which, while they recognise the difficulties raised by current popular explanations, are found upon examination to be inadequate to their resolution.

Thus far, then, our position has been a negative one. We have endeavoured to point out the weak places in the views of others, but we have stated no views of our own, though we have necessarily indicated to some extent the direction in which we ourselves should be disposed to look for satisfaction. It will be convenient, however, if, before proceeding to examine the character of the Eucharist, evidenced in primitive testimony, as expressing for us the meaning of the Incarnation, and the practical bearing of the passion of Jesus Christ upon the question of our relationship with the Divine Father, we set out in brief our own theory of Atonement. We will do this in a series of propositions. We maintain then :

I.—*That the judgment of God against sin has already fallen, and that men are now carrying out the sentence, and enduring all the inconvenient consequences resulting from it.*

Sin is the rebellion of the human will against the Divine. All men are sinners by nature and sinners in fact. The sentence against this rebellion is separation from God, ejection from the kingdom of light. This separation of the soul from God is death, and death has passed on all, for 'all have sinned.' This death fell upon the race in the day of its act of rebellion. 'In the day thou eatest thereof, thou shalt surely die.' Men, then, are dead in trespasses and sins, and this is the sentence of God against the race on account of sin, and there is not, and never will be, any other. The result is estrangement between man and God, which can only be removed by reconciliation. God and man are, in effect, *at-two*. The problem is to make them *at-one*. The solving of this is what we mean by *at-one-ment*.

II.—*That the sentence carries with it certain unavoidable consequences, which, though inevitable, are not part of the sentence itself, but rather of an incidental character, as, for instance :*

(a) All that *ignorance* of the Divine character and will which

we should expect to follow from the fact of our remoteness from the source of wisdom and love.

(b) All that *contradiction* of sinners against each other which must inevitably ensue in a state in which all wills are independently assertive, and every will conflicts with every other, while none are subservient to a Supreme will.

(c) All those *sufferings, misfortunes, and inconveniences*—such as accidents, pain, death of the body and so forth—which result from the fact that human life is harassed by the ignorant folly of finite wills, and not guided by the omniscient wisdom of an Infinite will.

III.—*That no change has ever occurred, nor ought to be contemplated as possible to occur, in the disposition of the Heavenly Father.*

Being such as He is (Jehovah—I AM), He never could have regarded sin otherwise than with displeasure, nor men otherwise than with love. It grieved Him to put men away from communion with Himself when their sin necessitated that separation; it still grieves His Fatherly heart to contemplate them in severance; and there is nothing that He desires more, or that He ever has desired more, than a reconciliation, and the return of man to his first obedience. His object in revelation has from first to last been to effect the reconciliation which His changeless nature consistently led Him to desire.

IV.—*That the great obstacles to such reconciliation are and always have been the obstinacy of the human will, the hardness of the human heart, and the ignorance of the human mind.*

For a return to obedience is not possible until men learn to understand—

(a) The hateful character of all sin;

(b) The requirements of the Divine righteousness.

And knowing both of these things perfectly are filled with no other desire, and possessed of no other will than to return to God, and serve and obey Him for ever in singleness of heart and simplicity of purpose.

But this involves on the part of man a perfect confession of his sin, together with a full acknowledgment of the justice of God in ejecting him from light, and in subjecting him to all the incidental consequences of such ejection; and also a complete change in his nature and disposition, so that there shall be no risk of his any longer desiring to follow his own will in preference to God's will. Reconciliation is therefore

impossible, because men can neither make the confession, nor change their nature.

The problem therefore that God had to solve was :

(a) How to incite a desire in man to return to his Heavenly Father.

(b) Such desire being incited, how to enable man to make such a confession as would satisfy the requirements of righteousness.

(c) How to effect such a change of nature as should permanently qualify him for citizenship in the Kingdom of Light.

V.—*That the Incarnation of the Eternal Son, together with His patient and willing endurance of all the direct and incidental effects of the sentence of God against sin, is God's way of solving the difficulty.*

For the Incarnation—

(a) Expressed God's great love for men, and enabled them to understand something of the unchangeable disposition of the Heavenly Father towards them ;

(b) Enabled Jesus Christ, who knew the hateful character of sin and the requirements of righteousness, to confess as man (by enduring all the consequences) the justice which inflicted the sentence, and subjected man to all the inconvenient and painful effects of it ;

(c) Supplied therefore in the perfection and sinlessness of His own human nature, a platform from which men might start on a return to a life of such obedience as He Himself displayed ;

(d) Furnished in His flawless nature (flesh and blood untainted by the lust of selfish desire) a means whereby men eating His flesh and drinking His blood might become transformed, and so completely share in the knowledge and participate in the confession of the representative obedient man.

VI.—*That to the making of this confession it was necessary that Christ should suffer as men suffer, that He should endure to the full the contradiction of sinners against Himself, that He should be made in all points like His brethren.*

But it was not necessary, nor ought it ever to be contemplated as necessary, that He should suffer any consequences that men have not themselves to suffer, or to act as their substitute in any way which could be regarded as a receiving upon Himself of vials of wrath, which would otherwise have

been poured out upon them. His endurance to be perfect and efficacious must have been a counterpart of man's, not in excess of nor a substitution for it. If Christ had suffered more than men suffer, His endurance would not have been a confession by man of the sin which exactly necessitated such suffering.

VII.—*That even in our present state of separation from God, men are not utterly cast away, but, according to their disposition, are classed relatively to each other as good or bad, though relatively to the absolute Good all are alike bad.*

It is this mixture of good and bad (wheat and tares) that renders the present state endurable, and mitigates, though of course it cannot obviate, the pains, inequalities, and contradictions which are incidental to separation from the Supreme Good.

VIII.—*That hell is a further incidental, though fully foreseen development of this state of separation.*

The very love of God in providing means for the reconciliation with Himself of all who are disposed to be reconciled necessitates the leaving behind in unmitigated separation all who wilfully refuse His offer in Jesus Christ. The withdrawal of the light of these kindly souls when God receives them back to Himself, and the consequent removal from earth of that Society formed to be an habitation of God through the spirit and a depository of grace, leaves the unrepentant in a darkness which the Scripture calls *utter*. The removal of the salt¹ results in the corruption and putrefaction, as it were, of human society thus abandoned. The result is hell; and this development occurs when the Saviour returns to gather from amongst men the fruit of His travail.

IX.—*That Christ's second coming, therefore, is to judge between the reconciled and the unreconciled.*

The word *judgment*, as used in connection with the Second Advent, must not be understood to mean that God will pronounce any further sentence against sin, over and above that which He has already decreed, and from the effects of which men are even now suffering. The judgment is of the nature of a separation between saved and unsaved. This final severance is of the nature of a releasing or freeing from the enduring of the sentence of those who wish to be saved (*quicumque vult*), and the *leaving behind of all those who 'will' continue in a state*

¹ 'Ye are the salt of the earth.'

of impenitence. These latter still go on enduring as before the miseries of the sentence, which is now still further aggravated in its severity by the removal of those in Christ. This view is so expressed in the imagery of Scripture. The judgment is the opening of a door to admit some into light, and the shutting others out; it is the deciding even in the case of those who profess to be Christ's friends, who really are so, and may, therefore, be permitted to sit at the marriage feast, and who, although assembled in the ante-chamber (the Church on earth) with the guests, must be shown the door, and returned—cast forth from that company—into the darkness which has now become utter (outer); it is the separating of sheep from goats, and the setting of sheep on the right hand and goats on the left. In every case, such judgment as Jesus then pronounces is conditioned simply by the state of the judged themselves.

X.—*That, therefore, all that the atonement made by Jesus Christ was intended to effect was the reconciliation between God and Man—the doing away with estrangement resulting from human wilfulness.*

It was not intended to save men from enduring the sentence of separation from God and expulsion from the Kingdom of Light, or from any of the incidental consequences of separation which must continue so long as the separation continues, though, of course, reconciliation carries with it the eventual deliverance from all such pains and penalties as are the unavoidable consequences of separation.

XI.—*That no condition as to the eternal or non-eternal duration of the sentence was imposed by God; and that the separation need not, as a matter of fact, last one moment longer than the sinner himself determines.*

The endurance, therefore, by Jesus Christ of the sentence with all its accompanying inconveniences which was essential to the making, by Him, on man's behalf of the complete confession, need never have been regarded as in any sense of an eternal nature. He 'tasted of death for every man' in the fullest sense of the word when He had endured the consequences comprised in His experience from the moment of His conception in the womb to His cry upon the cross, 'My God, My God, why hast Thou forsaken Me?'

Having in perfect obedience so endured, and so completed the confession, His expiring cries, 'It is finished,' 'Father, into

Thy hands I commend My spirit,' attest that all which was essential to the provision of a perfect means of reconciliation had been accomplished, and nothing now remained but for the Father to declare His full approval by raising Him from the dead.

XII.—*That the Sacraments set forth in expressive symbol the fundamentals of the foregoing doctrines.*

(a) In baptism is expressed the fact of our crucifixion with Christ on the Cross and our oneness with Him in all the endurance of the contradiction which begins with the moment of our entrance into the world. Baptism is the bringing of our human life to Jesus at our earliest knowledge of Him, and whenever possible at its very inception. To delay baptism till manhood, when it may be received in infancy, is to stultify the rite, and to rob it of its essential features; baptism is, in fact, identification of Adam, the fallen, with Adam, the sinless, in their joint endurance of the death sentence as the award of sin. The object of such identification is, of course, the imparting to the former of those qualities, resident in the latter, which makes possible the presentation of such endurance as an effectual confession. There is no atoning value in man's death and suffering apart from Christ. The efficacy of death and suffering as a basis of reconciliation all lies in Jesus Christ's endurance of them. Men need to be buried with Him by baptism into death before there can be any possibility of a resurrection unto righteousness. But it must ever be borne in mind that the term 'death' is an inclusive one, and embraces all the passion of Jesus, and not merely its climax and culminating point. The need for an effectual declaration of this fundamental truth does more than justify infant baptism—it necessitates it. In no other way than by the baptism of men in the very earliest moments of their endurance of the death penalty could this truth be effectively declared.

(b) In the Eucharist—

(i.) We proffer in the *memorial* the obedience of the Saviour as the expression of what we acknowledge that our obedience ought to be;

(ii.) We continually strengthen our union with Him, and effect the miraculous transformation of our nature by feeding on His flesh and blood;

(iii.) And thus we are enabled in and through Him to offer our very own selves, our souls and bodies, cleansed by His

body, vivified by His blood, as a living sacrifice, holy and acceptable unto Him, which is our reasonable service.

XIII.—*Therefore, in the Eucharist, viewed as the continuous proffer of our renewed and acceptable obedience, we proclaim the glorious fact of our achieved reconciliation with our Heavenly Father.*

In it we, in fact, touch the topmost summit of human endeavour. In our 'oblation of great gladness' we proffer to God our soul, now regarded as in Jesus Christ working out its emancipation from all that is sordid and selfish, and that has kept it back from seeking its highest and worthiest goal.

These propositions will, we think, indicate with sufficient clearness the views of which we declare the Eucharist to be the continuous exposition. The Christian sacrifice of thanksgiving is the joyous commemoration, until the Saviour's return to complete the final stage of the course of redemption, of the fact of reconciliation achieved by the devotion of Himself in life and death to the will of God in our salvation. We should have been disposed to have ended the chapter here, did it not seem to us that there is one point in connection with this theory which requires more particular attention. It will be noticed that the view advocated above puts forward the whole of Christ's endurance, from the moment of His willing coming amongst sinners to the moment of His removal from social contact with sinners in the consummating willing act of death, as constituting the confession which He came to make before God of the sins of the world with a view to their ultimate remission. It is the completeness of this endurance which is urged as of the essence of its efficacy. It would, however, we think, be a mistake were we to leave this statement of view without also declaring that we consider the death of Jesus to have in itself a very special direction of meaning in its relation to all that had gone before and led up to it, as well as in its bearing upon the confession itself. There is no doubt but that in the Scriptures the death is regarded as the great act of oblation whereby all that preceded it, and all of which it was the consummation, was gathered together into one, and presented to the one righteous God in one great sacrificial act. The sentence of God against sin was death. That term, as we have seen, is an inclusive one, and has a very much more extensive application of meaning than we are in the habit of

associating with it. Still, the sentence was death; and so for us the death on the Cross is represented as an acknowledgment by the representative man that the righteous Father in decreeing death as the award of sin only did that which the exigencies of righteousness demanded. Still, we must not forget the inclusive application of the term 'death' as standing for the whole of that state of being into which man was plunged by his sin. The sentence was death; but by death was meant all the sufferings and all the contradictions incidental to that state as well as that last painful experience which puts a period to man's physical endurance of them. The death was the offering by the man Christ Jesus of Himself as the Lamb of God taking away the sin of the world; but that offering of Himself at that moment derived all its meaning and all its efficiency from the fact that He was 'without spot.' The death of Jesus was in effect the laying upon the altar of the Cross of a perfect life—perfect, because while on the one hand it had passed through the whole of human experience, evading none of the trials, sufferings and contradictions which are the lot of all other men, on the other hand it had fulfilled the destiny which God had decreed for it in all its temptations of doing perfectly the will of the Father in heaven.¹

The death thus summarizes and, as it were, presents the confession in one great act of oblation. It is necessary for us to bear this in mind, or we shall fail to understand the constant reference to the death of Jesus Christ as the effecting act of reconciliation. There are, of course, passages of Scripture which set forth the antecedent obedience as essential to the confession as well as the final obedience in death, whereby all

¹ 'So of all our Lord's sufferings in that though a son He learned obedience by the things which He suffered. The sonship was there perfect all along, yet something came to pass, something was developed in the humanity of the Lord in each successive outcoming of the obedience of sonship under suffering, something which the Father had desired to see in humanity and now saw, and which the Incarnation simply as such had not accomplished, but which was being accomplished as the life of the Son in humanity progressed under the Father's educating of Him as the Captain of our salvation. And if this be a true apprehension as to the previous sufferings of the Lord and their progressive intensity, so also must it be of His tasting death. In substance, in spirit, He had all along said, "Father, into Thy hands I commend My spirit." In actual death He now said so.'—MCLEOD CAMPBELL: *Nature of the Atonement*, third edition, p. 300.

the preceding obedience was proffered in one grand sacrificial act—passages of Scripture which can be interpreted in no other way; but it has so long been customary to disregard these, and to separate the death in isolated regard as the infliction by outraged justice of vengeance substituted for that eternal damnation of mankind which some teachers allot as the desert of sin, that it is necessary to emphasize strongly the fact that, whilst the death is undoubtedly continually regarded as representative, and as the oblation which summarizes the confession essential to the vindication of righteousness, yet, it is never contemplated as possessing efficiency apart from the obedience, to which every movement of the life of Jesus, in its own separate triumphant vindication of righteousness, was as essential as the moment of death itself.¹

¹ There is also, no doubt, something of adaptation to the capacity of men in thus representing the obedience and confession of Jesus as proffered in sacrificial act to God. God needed, of course, no such act of oblation to call His attention to the achievements of Jesus Christ. We have said something more on this point on p. 100 and p. 105 (note) in regard to the old covenant sacrifices. If no oblation were needed for the sake of God in the case of the sacrifices offered by the law, still less could any such oblation have been necessary in the case of Him who was Himself God as well as man. In both cases, of course, the sacrifice in its Godward aspect is so represented for our sake. In no other way could it have been made so plain to us that vindication had to be made to God, and made in the form of a voluntary proffer of a most unreserved character.

CHAPTER V

THE TESTIMONY OF CHRIST AND THE APOSTLES

IN the last chapter we expressed in a series of connected propositions the nature of the Atonement wrought by Jesus Christ, and perpetually commemorated in the Eucharist. It will now, we think, be our best plan before proceeding to show how such views are illustrated in the worship of the Church of God from the beginning—in the worship prescribed under the old, as well as in the worship ordered by Jesus Christ under the new covenant—to set down such sayings of our Lord and His followers as bear directly upon these views, and may be quoted therefore in their support. And in so doing it will not be found necessary to occupy so large an extent of space as is allotted by Dr. Dale to this part of the subject. It will be seen on referring to his book that he has devoted no less than five lectures and 230 pages—almost half his book in fact—to show that our Lord Himself and the founders of the Christian Church regarded the sacrifice of the death of Christ as what he calls the ‘objective’ ground for the remission of sins. It appears to us unnecessary that he should devote so much space to a demonstration of that which the plain words of Scripture make sufficiently clear. There is no question of the learned writer’s ability, and his argument even when most protracted is always interesting. But though his contention is right in the main, he so hampered himself by his method of stating the case that extrication was not possible without prolixity. For in the first place he erred in simply urging the death of Jesus Christ as the effecting cause of remission apart from its connection with the antecedent passion; and, secondly, in the unnecessary use of the word ‘objective’ as a qualifying and limiting adjective. It must be understood that we are not

now arraigning his statement as untruthful. It is correct as far as it goes. The death of Jesus Christ was a ground of remission, and it was, moreover, an objective ground. Our complaint is that his statement does not go far enough, and that in his effort to make it appear sufficient he has been compelled to have resort to laboured circumstantial testimony to justify his restricted assertion, when had he been content to have enlarged the basis of his proposition, a more direct statement of evidence would have been found to suffice. For in the first place the whole of the passion of Jesus, as has been already stated, must be viewed as the effectuating cause of atonement, and the death as the means whereby it was presented as an acceptable offering to God; and in the second place the reconciliation which is made possible by the Passion depends upon effects which are both objective and subjective in character, and which it is as impossible to separate as it is to divide convexity from concavity in delineating a curve. The death of Jesus Christ is the culminating point of His obedience, and is often spoken of as representative of the whole obedience which constituted the confession, and, as we have already said, it is an objective ground of remission. But the whole truth necessitates that the proposition shall be formulated in such a way as to include all the sacrifice involved in the Incarnation as well as the culminating part of it, and that its subjective aspect should be regarded as of equal importance with its objective. It is better, however, to avoid the use of either of these words 'subjective' or 'objective.' The employment of them does not tend to make the argument clearer even to a mind most careful of distinctions, whilst to the ordinary reader it serves to invest it with a vaguely learned character suggesting difficulties of apprehension which do not, in fact, exist. Let us, then, in the place of Dr. Dale's restricted proposition substitute the following, which rests upon the broader basis of the Incarnation, and is inclusive of all the Passion involved in the sacrifice, and all the effects which flow directly from it. Thus :

The sacrifice of Jesus Christ is declared by the Saviour Himself, and by all the writers of the New Testament, as the ground upon which men receive forgiveness of sins and become reconciled to God.

This wider method of statement has the further advantage that it does not, as does the proposition of Dr. Dale, involve the acceptance of any particular theory. It is historical rather

than theological in character, and rests upon a solid foundation of fact which nearly all Christian bodies will be willing to accept as a base for argumentative or controversial manœuvre.

It is the misfortune of the Catholic Church regarded as the depositary, the conservator, and traditor of the oracles of God, that all the assaults which have been made upon this doctrine have directed the point of their attack against some particular theory of atonement, which incautious advocates have associated with certain passages of Scripture, and which have been represented to be, and which not improbably were, opposed alike to the conclusions of reason and the dictates of humanity. It has been the Church's misfortune, because it has made it appear to onlookers as though by discrediting the theory a breach had been made in the defences of Catholic truth itself. By giving a wider basis to our proposition we run no such risks. Our statement will not be found to impeach either the accuracy or the morality of revelation, or to credit the founders of our most holy faith with more than the assertion of that historical groundwork, which is essential to the construction of a theory, which shall explain and solve all the difficulties raised by the facts of the sin of man and the righteousness of God. For if we take the words of Scripture as they stand and impose upon them no other than their face meaning, we shall find that they do declare the sacrifice of Christ to be the historical basis on which reconciliation was effected, and His blood to be the one only source of life; but that they do not restrict the saving efficacy to any merely objective virtue which that sacrifice may be assumed to have, or assert the death considered apart from the antecedent obedience and endurance as alone responsible for the remission of sins.

The object of this treatise is not a controversial one. Had it been so we should have felt bound to enter with greater minuteness into an examination of some subsidiary matters, which, though no doubt from other points of view fully as interesting as the question we are now discussing, we are compelled to pass by. Our object is not primarily controversial but expository, though of course the exigencies of lucid exposition demand that we should examine and refute such views as would hinder those who hold them from a clear perception of the argument which it is the purpose of this book to state. As Dr. Dale says, 'One must begin somewhere,' and as our intention is to write mainly for members of

the Catholic Church, we shall at least assume such fundamental data of revelation as amongst Christians are received *ubique et ab omnibus*. We take the Apostles' Creed as a convenient summary of such data. We assume the fact of sin as the consequence of a fall on the part of the progenitors of the race from a state of original righteousness, and that the whole race of men—as deriving their nature from their erring first parents—share with them the fate which the wearing of that nature involves.

If it be urged that we make too large an assumption, we shall not quarrel with those who think so. If they write a treatise, they will do what seems to them best in the matter of the choice of a starting-point. Our desire being to inquire into the doctrine of Atonement, which is held as a fundamental principle of religion by all sections of orthodox Christians, we decline to go one single step further back than is necessary to the finding of a platform of fact upon which all are willing to stand, and from which therefore all theories of explanation must necessarily start.

First as to the sayings of Jesus Himself. Dr. Dale, noticing the paucity of references by the Saviour to the theological aspect of His mission, points out that teaching and preaching was not the great object of His coming. 'The real truth is,' he says, 'that while He came to preach the Gospel, His chief object in coming was that there might be a Gospel to preach.'¹ That of course is quite true, and is very well said. And it is certainly noteworthy that on the occasion when a ruler of the Jews approached Him on the ground that He was a 'teacher sent from God,' Jesus should have at once corrected the thought that imposed upon Him this office by stating that it was not teaching but life that He came to bring—'Ye must be born again.' Indeed, if the teaching aspect of our Lord's life had been its most prominent feature, it would have made rather against than for the doctrine, in support of which we advance these somewhat scanty extracts. Our contention is that it is the historical fact of the Incarnation itself, with the life, the Passion, and the death which it involves, which, independently of teaching, is the effecting cause of reconciliation. If Jesus Christ had been dumb (supposing dumbness to have been one of the sufferings needful to be endured in order to the making of an adequate confession, which of course it was

¹ Dale, 'Atonement,' p. 46.

not) His mission would thus have effected the Divine purpose if he had endured willingly all the suffering, remained sinless in character and in act, and been obedient to death, even the death of the Cross. If the Gospels had represented Jesus as a sort of superior Moses, His character as the Life-giver, though it would not of course have been hidden, would hardly have been so manifest as it is. Still, though the recorded sayings of Jesus upon this point are few, as we should expect, and though in respect of such theological statements there is exercised in the record of our Lord's own sayings a wise reticence of revelation which on reflection we should prefer, the Gospel narrative is not devoid of clear utterance; and though the passages be not numerous, we find them in just such connection as appears to be most edifying.

THE TESTIMONY OF JESUS CHRIST.

‘The Son of Man came not to be ministered unto, but to minister, and to give His life a ransom for many.’¹

‘Take, eat; this is My body which is given (or broken) for you: this do in remembrance of Me. . . . Drink ye all of it; for this is My blood of the New Testament (or covenant), which is shed for many (or for you) for the remission of sins: this do ye, as oft as ye drink it, in remembrance of Me.’²

‘I am the living bread which came down from heaven: if any man eat of this bread, he shall live for ever: and the bread that I will give is My flesh, which I will give for the life of the world. . . . Verily, verily, I say unto you, Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of Man and drink His blood, ye have no life in you. Whoso eateth My flesh, and drinketh My blood, hath eternal life; and I will raise him up at the last day.’³

‘I am the Good Shepherd: the Good Shepherd giveth His life for the sheep. . . . As the Father knoweth Me, even so know I the Father: and I lay down My life for the sheep.’⁴

‘Verily, verily, I say unto you, Except a corn of wheat fall into the ground and die, it abideth alone: but if it die, it bringeth forth much fruit.’⁵

¹ St. Mark x. 43-45. This saying must be viewed, moreover, in the light of the declaration contained in verses 33, 34.

² St. Matt. xxvi. 26-28; St. Mark xiv. 22-24; St. Luke xxii. 19, 20; 1 Cor. xi. 23-25.

³ St. John vi. 51-54.

⁴ *Ibid.*, x. 11, 15.

⁵ *Ibid.*, xii. 24.

‘I, if I be lifted up from the earth, will draw all men unto Me.’¹

‘As Moses lifted up the serpent in the wilderness, even so must the Son of Man be lifted up: that whosoever believeth in Him should not perish, but have eternal life. . . . God sent not His Son into the world to condemn the world; but that the world through Him might be saved.’²

‘Father, the hour is come; glorify Thy Son, that Thy Son also may glorify Thee; as Thou hast given Him power over all flesh, that He should give eternal life to as many as Thou hast given Him. And this is life eternal, that they might know Thee the only true God, and Jesus Christ, whom Thou hast sent. I have glorified Thee on the earth: I have finished the work which Thou gavest Me to do. And now, O Father, glorify Thou Me with Thine own self with the glory which I had with Thee before the world was.’³

‘My meat is to do the will of Him that sent Me, and to finish His work.’⁴

‘It is finished.’⁵

THE TESTIMONY OF ST. PAUL.

‘God commendeth His love towards us, in that, while we were yet sinners, Christ died for us. Much more then, being now justified by His blood, we shall be saved from wrath through Him. For if, when we were enemies, we were reconciled to God by the death of His Son, much more, being reconciled, we shall be saved by His life. And not only so, but we also joy in God through our Lord Jesus Christ, by whom we have now received the atonement.’⁶

‘For as by one man’s disobedience many were made sinners, so by the obedience of one shall many be made righteous.’⁷

‘All things are of God, who hath reconciled us to Himself by Jesus Christ, and hath committed unto us the word of reconciliation; to wit, that God was in Christ, reconciling the world unto Himself, not imputing their trespasses unto them; and hath committed unto us the word of reconciliation. Now then we are ambassadors for Christ, as though God did beseech you by us: we pray you in Christ’s stead, be ye reconciled to

¹ St. John xii. 32.

⁴ *Ibid.*, iv. 34.

² *Ibid.*, iii. 14-17.

⁵ *Ibid.*, xix. 30.

⁷ *Ibid.*, v. 19.

³ *Ibid.*, xvii. 1-5.

⁶ Rom. v. 8-11.

God. For He hath made Him to be sin for us, who knew no sin; that we might be made the righteousness of God in Him.¹

‘Who gave Himself for our sins, that He might deliver us from this present evil world, according to the will of God and our Father.’²

‘In whom we have redemption through His blood, the forgiveness of sins, according to the riches of His grace.’³

‘And having made peace through the blood of His Cross, by Him to reconcile all things unto Himself; by Him, I say, whether they be things in earth, or things in heaven. And you, that were sometime alienated, and enemies in your mind by wicked words, yet now hath He reconciled in the body of His flesh through death, to present you holy and unblameable and unproveable in His sight.’⁴

‘I beseech you therefore, brethren, by the mercies of God, that ye present your bodies a living sacrifice, holy, acceptable unto God, which is your reasonable service. And be not conformed to this world: but be ye transformed by the renewing of your mind, that ye may prove what is that good, and acceptable, and perfect, will of God.’⁵

‘And that He might reconcile both (*i.e.*, Jews and Gentiles) unto God in one body by the Cross, having slain the enmity thereby: and came and preached peace to you which were afar off, and to them that were nigh. For through Him we both have access by one Spirit unto the Father.’⁶

‘Christ hath loved us, and hath given Himself for us an offering and a sacrifice to God for a sweet-smelling savour.’⁷

‘Who gave Himself for us, that He might redeem us from all iniquity, and purify unto Himself a peculiar people, zealous of good works.’⁸

THE TESTIMONY OF ST. PETER.

‘Forasmuch as ye know that ye were not redeemed with corruptible things, as silver and gold, from your vain conversation received by tradition from your fathers; but with the precious blood of Christ, as of a Lamb without blemish and without spot: who verily was foreordained before the founda-

¹ 2 Cor. v. 18-21.

² Col. i. 20-22.

⁷ *Ibid.*, v. 2.

³ Gal. i. 4.

⁵ Rom. xii. 1, 2.

⁸ Titus ii. 14.

³ Eph. i. 7.

⁶ Eph. ii. 16-18.

tion of the world, but was manifest in these last times for you, who by Him do believe in God, that raised Him up from the dead, and gave Him glory; that your faith and hope might be in God.’¹

‘Who His own self bare our sins in His own body on the tree, that we, being dead to sins, should live unto righteousness: by whose stripes ye were healed.’²

‘For Christ also hath once suffered for sins, the just for the unjust, that He might bring us to God.’³

THE TESTIMONY OF ST. JOHN.

‘If any man sin, we have an advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ the righteous: and He is the propitiation for our sins: and not for ours only, but also for the sins of the whole world.’⁴

‘And ye know that He was manifested to take away our sins.’⁵

‘Hereby perceive we the love of God, because He laid down His life for us.’⁶

‘In this was manifested the love of God toward us, because that God sent His only begotten Son into the world, that we might live through Him. Herein is love, not that we loved God, but that He loved us, and sent His Son to be the propitiation for our sins.’⁷

‘He that hath the Son hath life; and he that hath not the Son of God hath not life.’⁸

THE TESTIMONY OF THE EPISTLE TO THE HEBREWS.

‘We see Jesus, who was made a little lower than the angels for the suffering of death, crowned with glory and honour; that He by the grace of God should taste death for every man.’⁹

‘In all things it behoved Him to be made like unto His brethren, that He might be a merciful and faithful high priest in things pertaining to God, to make reconciliation for the sins of the people.’¹⁰

‘Though He were a Son, yet learned He obedience by the

¹ 1 St. Pet. i. 18-21.

² *Ibid.*, ii. 24.

³ *Ibid.*, iii. 18.

⁴ 1 St. John ii. 1, 2.

⁵ *Ibid.*, iii. 5.

⁶ *Ibid.*, iii. 16.

⁷ *Ibid.*, iv. 9, 10.

⁸ *Ibid.*, v. 12.

⁹ Heb. ii. 9.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, ii. 17.

things which He suffered ; and being made perfect, He became the author of eternal salvation unto all that obey Him.'¹

'For if the blood of bulls and of goats, and the ashes of an heifer sprinkling the unclean, sanctifieth to the purifying of the flesh : how much more shall the blood of Christ, who through the eternal Spirit offered Himself without spot to God, purge your conscience from dead works to serve the living God?'²

'Now once in the end of the world hath He appeared to put away sin by the sacrifice of Himself.'³

'Christ was once offered to bear the sins of many.'⁴

'Lo, I come to do Thy will, O God . . . by the which will we are sanctified through the offering of the body of Jesus Christ once for all.'⁵

'This man, after He had offered one sacrifice for sin for ever, sat down on the right hand of God . . . for by one offering He hath perfected for ever them that are sanctified.'⁶

'Now the God of peace, that brought again from the dead our Lord Jesus Christ, that great Shepherd of the sheep, through the blood of the everlasting covenant, make you perfect in every good work to do His will, working in you that which is well-pleasing in His sight, through Jesus Christ ; to whom be glory for ever and ever. Amen.'⁷

That in very many of these passages the death—regarded as the presentation to God, in act of sacrifice, of the unblemished life—is stated as though it were the effecting cause of atonement need not, as we have seen, surprise us at all. At any stage of the Passion, which Jesus sustained in protracted effort of obedience to the Supreme Will through thirty or more long years, there was contemplated (if one may reverently say it) the possibility of an assertion of His will in opposition to the will of the Father. For His will, because it was perfectly human, must have been as free and independent as every other human will. If, however, it be urged that such assertion by Him was impossible, we ask, In what sense impossible? If by impossible it is only intended to imply that the manhood was so perfect, and so entirely in communion with the Godhead that there was no risk of failure on the score of lack of knowledge, lack of love, or lack of power, and that failure was rendered even still

¹ Heb. v. 8, 9.

⁴ *Ibid.*, ix. 28.

² *Ibid.*, ix. 13, 14.

⁵ *Ibid.*, x. 9, 10.

⁷ *Ibid.*, xiii. 20, 21.

³ *Ibid.*, ix. 26.

⁶ *Ibid.*, x. 12, 14.

more remotely possible by the fact that there was the full sense of the terrible consequences of failure always present to the second Adam, which the first Adam knew nothing about, it may be conceded that such a contingency would seem to be so utterly improbable as barely to be entitled to consideration as a possibility. But, if it be urged that the human nature was so held by the Divine as to have lost all its independence, and to be incapable of separate effort as a will in any sense in which the word possesses meaning relatively to the sons of men, we reply that in such a case the so-called obedience of Jesus as the representative Son of Man is reduced to a farce. The obedience of a creature with practically no will of his own is in no sense a representative obedience, and can, therefore, in no way be viewed as a vindication of that righteousness which demands the willing service of creatures whose *distinguishing characteristic* is the possession of a will which is independent and free. No, it was because the possibility, however remote, of such an assertion was contemplated at every stage of the Passion up to the last¹ that the death is ever viewed as *the* act which completes and seals the confession. Christ's great act of confession on behalf of men was complete because His obedience and His endurance was unto death, even the death of the Cross. What was the meaning of the Agony in the Garden if the human will possessed no independence?² Was it all an acted part?³ Was there no real con-

¹ Commenting on Zech. vi. 11, Tertullian says: 'The Jesus there alluded to is Christ the Priest of God the Most High Father, who at His first Advent came in humility, in human form, and passible even up to the period of His actual passion, being Himself likewise made *through all stages of suffering* a victim for us all.'

² 'Now, to drink this cup was to discharge the ministry and the whole economy of trial with fortitude, to follow and fulfil the Father's determination, and to surmount all apprehensions. And the exclamation, "Why hast Thou forsaken Me?" was in due accordance with the request He had formerly made: "*Why is it that death has been in conjunction with Me all along till now, and that I bear not yet the cup?*" This I judge to have been the Saviour's meaning in this concise utterance, . . . and so by voluntarily enduring death in the flesh He implanted incorruptibility in it; so also by taking of His own free will *the passion of our servitude*, He sets in it the seeds of constancy and courage whereby He has nerved those who believe in Him for the mighty conflicts belonging to their witness-bearing.' —Dionysius on St. Luke xxii. 42-48.

³ 'We must get deliverance from this temptation—the painful temptation to think of Christ's work as almost a scenic representation—otherwise we can never have the consciousness of getting the true knowledge of eternal realities from the Atonement. All light of life for us disappears

flict of wills when Jesus urged what He called His will as having separate desire from the Divine will?—when He prayed that if it were possible the Cup might pass, and He spared the awful necessity of that last draught?¹ Was it a mock submission only, when, in the terrible throes of that final struggle, His perfect obedience suppressed the desire of which the words, wrung in anguish from His lips, were the evidence? Was there no struggle after all? Or, if there were a struggle, was the human will so impotent, so fettered, so powerless, that only one result was possible? We dare not think it. There was evidently some quality in that last supreme effort of obedience and submission which invested it with a peculiar sanctity and made it in a sense representative of all that had gone before. What that quality was we think is indicated by His cry on the Cross, ‘My God, My God, why hast Thou forsaken Me?’ Jesus, by living as man with men in separation from God had endured, thus far, all the incidental consequences appertaining to a state of separation; but until then He had not endured any sense of the separation itself and it would seem that it was necessary that He should taste of that in order to a perfect confession. To be made like unto His brethren He had to submit even to that.² Not till He had so submitted was the confession which was begun at His conception complete. And because it was so complete the reconciliation was effected, and a way of return to God made possible to men. Therefore, because *death*—the real death of which the death of the body was the outward and visible sign—was the point to which it was essential that the obedience should be carried, it is this last act that is regarded as summarizing all the obedience.

from the life of Christ unless that life be to us a life indeed, and not the mere acting of an assigned part.’—MCLEOD CAMPBELL: *Nature of the Atonement*, third edition, p. 230.

¹ ‘The Lord, also, when He wished to *demonstrate to us even in His own flesh the flesh’s infirmity* by enduring the reality of suffering, said: “Father, remove the cup,” and remembering Himself, added, “Save that not My will, but Thine, be done.” Himself was the Will and the Power of the Father, and yet for the demonstration of that patience which was due He gave Himself up to the Father’s will.’—Tertullian on ‘Prayer,’ iv.

² Discussing the words, ‘My God, My God, why hast Thou forsaken Me?’ Tertullian says: ‘This was the voice of flesh and soul—that is to say, of man—not of the Word and Spirit—that is to say, not of God; and it was uttered so as to prove the impassibility of God, who forsook His Son so far as He handed over His human substance to the suffering of death.’—‘*Adversus Praxean*,’ xxx,

CHAPTER VI

THE DOCTRINE IN ANTE-NICENE LITERATURE

NONE of the ante-Nicene fathers advance any theory or offer any other explanation as to the nature of atonement than is supplied by the ordinances of the Church. The Eucharist had not yet become a ground of controversy. It was celebrated in every church and by every congregation. It was revered by all. It was regarded by all as the great act of Christian worship, the essential point not only of fellowship but also of contact with God. It was the oblation, the offering (ἡ προσφορά), and as such it expressed the fact of reconciliation through Christ in a way which obviated literary expression. No Christian had any doubts about that of which continuous exposition was made in the weekly oblations ; and no Christian teacher had occasion to argue the observance of that which all alike regarded as of the very first importance. However much they might differ on other points, on this they were all agreed. The Eucharist was that which united earth with heaven, sinners with a Saviour, man with God. They needed no special reasoning to convince them of the reality of that which was to them a matter of experience. What mattered the method so long as the reconciliation was itself an accomplished fact? Why construct a theory to account for that which received a practical solution every time the Eucharist was celebrated? The matter was one which resolved itself—*solvitur ambulando*. There were so many points of difference to write about, that it never once occurred to any of them to demonstrate either the cause or the process of atonement. But, though there is nowhere exhibited by these early writers a complete theory, there are many indications of the way in which the attitude of the heavenly Father, and the earthly labours of the Divine Son, were regarded by one and

another of them. We propose, therefore, to notice some of those passages in their works which are of a specially instructive character, and which seem to indicate what their views upon the philosophical aspect of the doctrine would have been had they felt it necessary to the welfare of the Church to have set out in reasoned form the plan of salvation. It would be unnecessary even now to state any theory were it not for the fact, that the meaning of those ordinances, which in the simplicity of their primitive ritual express with sufficient clearness the character of the new relationship between God and man which the Incarnation has established, has been obscured by processes of both deprivation and accretion. It would be hard to say exactly which fault has been responsible for the larger share of the harm which Christendom has suffered in the past and from which it still suffers.

On the one side we have the superstitions of Romanism, on the other the schisms of Protestantism. Rome, it is true, retains the essential idea of the priesthood and the oblation, but has degraded the doctrine to the point of civilized fetishism. Protestant dissent acknowledges neither priest nor offering; and has been compelled to construct theories of atonement to account for facts which it has no sacrament properly so called to explain. The Anglican branch of the Catholic Church, which retains both priesthood and Eucharist, alone exhibits a ritual which is not misleading, and a plan of doctrine which is not morally and intellectually repulsive. It is the aggressiveness of Rome on the one side and of dissent on the other which necessitates the effort to formulate a theory which shall justify the Anglo-Catholic position.

On the one hand, we are told that we have neither priesthood nor sacrifice because we refuse as a Church to degrade doctrine to a point at which it conflicts with the only verifying faculties which God has bestowed upon us. Our reply to the challenge is unequivocal and clear. Faith, we say, may transcend, but it never traverses reason. Catholicism accepts with reverence and humility every revelation for which the Divine authority is evident, even when that revelation involves the acceptance of statements which the limited nature of human experience makes it impossible for us positively to prove. But it does not permit the blind devotion which encourages belief in doctrines or in practices which are contrary to reason, or denied by the unmistakable evidence of the senses. For

instance, the doctrine of the Trinity simply stated as a belief in a tripersonality in substantial and essential unity, and not parodied to an acceptance of the mathematical absurdity that three is one or that one is three, is one that passes beyond the range of our experience simply because we have no clear knowledge of the nature of the Godhead. Still, we can see that the notion of consciousness involves some sort of plurality in the nature of the primitive essence, even while we are driven by the dictates of reason to view that first great cause as one. But the doctrine is one that we are not concerned to explain, and about which, indeed, it savours of the second-rate to argue. The doctrine of the Trinity, as held by Catholics, rests on the authority of the Son of God untraversed by the conclusions of first-class thought, and not contradicted by the evidence of the senses. But the Romish doctrines of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary, or of Transubstantiation, require that we should violate and stultify our nature in both of these respects. To invent a sinless birth for the mother of the Saviour is to invest her with a nature which would in effect constitute her a rival to Christ, whilst subjecting her to an unmeaning passion—a passion, moreover, prolonged far beyond the limits of the passion endured by the Saviour Himself. It makes the Virgin undergo even that from which Jesus was exempt after His atoning work was finished. During the period in which our Lord sojourned on earth after His resurrection, He was no longer required to submit to the contradiction of sinners against Himself which He had to bear until the ample confession was made. And yet the Romanist makes the immaculate woman the endurer through double the number of years of the painful results of sin from which her assumed sinless nature should have exempted her. Transubstantiation is a doctrine which sounds the very depths of human credulity. It demands that man shall deny the evidence of his senses and degrade to an incantation the dignity of a reasonable service.

On the other hand, we are condemned because of our so-called sacerdotalism. Dissenters tell us that man wants nothing more for the purpose of redemption and salvation than his own mental and moral nature can supply. He needs no priest, no oblation, no visible Church, and no liturgy. Salvation is entirely a subjective matter. Ministers may be tolerated and even required as spiritual advisers, but they are neither stewards of the mysteries nor custodians of the oracles.

Each man must be left to erect his own ideal, to formulate his own creed, to be his own interpreter of the Scriptures, and to define the character of his own worship. This happy-go-lucky principle has already resulted in the formation of upwards of 200 Christian bodies, and there is no reason why in the course of another century the number should not be doubled.

So then it will be seen that whilst on the one hand the Eucharist has been changed into a repeated propitiatory sacrifice, on the other it has been deprived of its character as an oblation of thanksgiving. It has therefore become needful to examine the foundation principles of truth upon which it rests, and for the continuous exhibition of which it was, amongst other purposes, intended.

As we have already said, no theory of atonement can be discovered in the writings of the early Fathers. For many centuries after Christ the fact of atonement, and its expression in Christian worship, remained unobscured. There was no need to defend that which no one dreamed of assaulting, or to define that which every Christian rite so clearly and emphatically expressed. But though it is true that no theory of atonement is formally propounded in ante-Nicene literature, all the elements essential to its construction are as fully exhibited as in the canon of Scripture itself; and the following extracts will suffice in proof of the assertion:

THE SUB-APOSTOLIC FATHERS.

That no sacrifice is required from men with a view to inducing God to look favourably upon them was clearly understood. In the view of the early Church there was no revengeful feeling on the part of the Deity to be appeased, no attitude of hostility to be changed into one of complaisance by propitiatory gifts. 'Let us look steadfastly to the Father and Creator of the universe,' says Clement, 'and cleave to His mighty and surpassingly great gifts and benefactions of peace. Let us contemplate Him with our understanding, and look with the eyes of our soul to His long-suffering will. Let us reflect how free from wrath He is towards all His creation.'¹ And so also the writer of the Epistle to Diognetus: 'For God the Lord and Fashioner of all things, who made all things, and assigned them their several positions, proved

¹ Clem. i. 19.

Himself not merely a friend of mankind, but also long-suffering (in His dealings with them). Yea, He was always of such a character, and still is, and will ever be, kind and good, and free from wrath and true, and the only one who is absolutely good.¹

Reconciliation is constantly urged as the object of the Christian religion. The metaphor varies, but the meaning is always the same. The supreme good is to attain to God, to behold and to enjoy Him. 'This is the way, beloved, in which we find Him who saves us, even Jesus Christ, the High Priest of all our offerings, the Defender and Helper of our infirmity. By Him we look up to the heights of heaven. By Him we behold as in a glass His immaculate and most excellent visage. By Him are the eyes of our hearts opened. By Him our foolish and darkened understanding blossoms up anew towards His marvellous light.'² And so St. Polycarp, in the prayer which he uttered at the stake, is not transported with the thought of deliverance from tortures or the near prospect of pacing golden streets and enjoying sensuous delights, but with joy at the recollection of the knowledge of God that he had acquired in Christ: 'O Lord God Almighty, the Father of Thy beloved and blessed Son Jesus Christ, *by whom we have received the knowledge of Thee* . . . I give Thee thanks that Thou hast counted me worthy of this day and hour, that I should have a part in the number of Thy martyrs, in the cup of Thy Christ, to the resurrection of eternal life both of soul and body, through the *incorruption imparted by the Holy Ghost*.'

Anyone who has read the epistles of Ignatius will have been struck by his fondness for the phrase 'attain to God,' which expressed for him the summit of his spiritual ambition. 'Let my spirit be sanctified by yours, not only now, but also when I shall attain to God.'³ '(Jesus Christ) is the door of the Father, by which enter in Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, and the prophets, and the apostles, and the Church. All these have for their object the attaining to the unity of God.'⁴ 'I pray for a union both of the flesh and spirit of Jesus Christ, the constant source of our life, and of faith and love, to which nothing is to be preferred, but especially of Jesus and the

¹ Ep. Diog. viii.

³ Trall. xiii.

² Clem. i. 36.

⁴ Phil. ix.

Father, in whom, if we endure all the assaults of the prince of this world, and escape them, we shall enjoy God.¹

We have already quoted the passage from the Epistle to Diognetus² in which God's method in seeking to effect the reconciliation He desires is described as one of persuasion. There is another passage, however, in the same writer of great force and clearness in which a number of the points, which we dwelt upon in setting out the theory, are plainly alluded to. He tells us that God, 'having made it manifest that in ourselves we were unable to enter the kingdom of God, we might through the power of God be made able. But when our wickedness had reached its height, . . . and when the time had come which God had before appointed for manifesting His own kindness and power, how the one love of God, through exceeding regard for men, did not regard us with hatred, nor thrust us away, nor remember our iniquity against us, but showed great long-suffering and bore with us, He Himself took on Him the burden of our iniquities, He gave His own Son as a ransom for us, the Holy One for transgressors, the blameless One for the wicked, the righteous One for the unrighteous, the incorruptible One for the corruptible, the immortal One for them that are mortal. For what other thing was capable of covering our sins than His righteousness? By what other one was it possible that we, the wicked and ungodly, could be justified than by the only Son of God? O sweet exchange! O unsearchable operation! O benefits surpassing all expectation, that the wickedness of many should be hid in a single righteous one, and that the righteousness of one should justify many transgressors! Having, therefore, convinced us in the former time that our nature was unable to attain to life, and having now revealed the Saviour who is able to save even those things which it was formerly impossible to save, by both these facts He desired to lead us to trust in His kindness, to esteem Him our Nourisher, Father, Teacher, Counsellor, Healer, our Wisdom, Light, Honour, Glory, Power, and Life. . . . If you also desire this faith, you likewise shall receive first of all the knowledge of the Father. For God has loved mankind, on whose account He made the world, to whom He rendered subject all the things that are in it, to whom He gave reason and understanding, to whom alone He imparted the

¹ Mag. i.

² Note on p. 37, Chapter III.

privilege of looking upwards to Himself, whom He formed after His own image, to whom He sent His only begotten Son, to whom He has promised a kingdom in heaven, and will give it to those who have loved Him. And when you have attained this knowledge, with what joy do you think you will be filled? or how will you love Him who has first so loved you? And if you love Him, you will be an imitator of His kindness. And do not wonder that a man may become an imitator of God. He can if he is willing. . . . He who takes upon himself the burden of his neighbour, he who in whatsoever respect he may be superior, is ready to benefit another who is deficient, he who whatsoever things he has received from God, by distributing these to the needy, becomes a god to those who receive his benefits, he is an imitator of God. Then thou shalt see while still on earth that God in the heavens rules over the universe; then shalt thou begin to speak the mysteries of God; then shalt thou both love and admire those that suffer punishment because they will not deny God; then shalt thou condemn the deceit and error of the world when thou shalt know what it is to live truly in heaven, when thou shalt despise that which is here esteemed to be death, when thou shalt fear what is truly death, which is reserved for those who shall be condemned to the eternal fire, which shall afflict those even to the end that are committed to it.'

The idea that Christ gave Himself for us is one that is constantly before the minds of the Fathers, and is expressed in a variety of ways. 'On account of the love He bore us,' says Clement, 'Jesus Christ our Lord gave His blood for us by the will of God: His flesh for our flesh, and His soul for our souls.'¹ So also St. Barnabas: 'Thou shalt love Him that created thee; thou shalt glorify Him that redeemed thee (*τὸν τε λυτρωσάμενον*) from death';² and Ignatius: 'That I may indeed become the disciple of Him who gave Himself for us an offering and sacrifice to God.'

So also is the thought that the sufferings which Christ endured were borne on our account and with a view to our salvation. So St. Clement calls to the recollection of his correspondents 'how much Jesus Christ submitted to suffer for our sakes';³ and Polycarp speaks of 'Jesus Christ who for

¹ Clem. i. 49.² Bar. xix.³ Clem. ii. i.

our sins suffered even unto death,'¹ and 'endured all things for us that we might live in Him.'²

St. Barnabas says: 'If, therefore, the Son of God, who is Lord, and who will judge the living and the dead, suffered that His stroke might give us life, let us believe that the Son of God could not have suffered except for our sakes.'³ And so also St. Ignatius: 'Jesus Christ died for us in order by believing in His death (εἰς τὸν θάνατον) ye may escape (ἐκφυγῆτε) from death.'⁴ And again: 'Now He suffered all these things for our sakes that we might be saved.'⁵ Yet it is clear that there was no thought that these sufferings were of a vicarious character in the sense that they were endured in order that we might be exempted. 'And why,' asks Ignatius, 'have I also surrendered myself to death, to fire, to the sword, to the wild beasts? But he who is near to the sword is near to God; he that is among the wild beasts is in company with God, provided only he be so in the name of Jesus Christ. I undergo all things that I may suffer together with Him, *He who became a perfect man inwardly strengthening me.*'⁶ It was, indeed, as we have already indicated, the patient endurance with Jesus of all the painful consequences of sin that was necessary, and was regarded by the Fathers as necessary, to the acquirement by the believer of the full benefits of the Passion of the Saviour. 'Do you think,' asks Hermas, 'that the sins of those who repent are remitted immediately? Not altogether, but he who repents must torment (βαρύνει) his own soul, and be exceedingly humble in all his conduct, and be afflicted with many kinds of affliction; and if he endure the afflictions that come upon him, He who created all things, and endured them with power, will assuredly have compassion, and will heal him; and this will He do when He sees the heart of every penitent pure from every evil thing.'⁷ There are, of course, the usual allusions to the saving virtue of the blood of Christ, though in most, if not in all of the references there is nothing in the words or their immediate context which would enable us to say with absolute certainty whether it is the shedding of that blood in act of sacrifice, or the subjective application of the life which it conveys to those who are new born in baptism, that is intended by the writers. St. Clement bids us 'look

¹ Poly. Phil. i.

² *Ibid.*, viii.

³ Ep. Bar. vii.

⁴ Ig. Trall. ii.

⁵ Ig. Smyr. ii.

⁶ *Ibid.*, iv.

⁷ Hermas Pastor Sim. vii.

steadfastly to the blood of Christ, and see how precious that blood is to God, which, having been shed for our salvation, has set the grace of repentance before the whole world.'¹ And again: 'Let us reverence the Lord Jesus Christ, whose blood was given for us';² and the passage already quoted above in which he speaks of Jesus Christ giving 'His blood for us by the will of God.' But the subjective aspect of atonement is quite as prominent as any other; and the necessity for obtaining and sustaining the new life, which can only be derived from Christ, who is the Source of Life, is continuously urged. 'Before we believed in God,' writes St. Barnabas, 'the habitation of our heart was corrupt and weak, as being indeed like a temple made with hands. For it was full of idolatry, and was a habitation of demons, through our doing such things as were opposed to God. But it shall be built observe ye in the name of the Lord, in order that the temple of the Lord may be built in Glory. How? Learn. Having received the forgiveness of sins, and placed our trust in the name of the Lord, we have become new creatures, formed again from the beginning. Wherefore in our habitation God truly dwells in us. How? His word of faith; His calling of promise; the wisdom of the statutes; the commands of the doctrine; He Himself prophesying in us; He Himself dwelling in us; opening to us who were enslaved by death the doors of the temple, that is, the mouth; and by giving us repentance introduced us into the incorruptible temple.' The theme is a very favourite one of St. Ignatius. He speaks of himself as 'not yet perfect in Jesus Christ,' whom he describes as 'our inseparable life'³ (τὸ ἀδιάκριτον ζῆν), and exhorts his correspondents: 'only let us be found in Christ Jesus unto the true life';⁴ and 'let us do all things as those who have Him dwelling in us, that we may be His temples, and He may be in us as our God.'⁵ 'I know that ye are not puffed up,' he writes to the Magnesians, 'for ye have Jesus Christ in yourselves.'⁶

But the two passages which most nearly approach to the character of a theological summary, and which are on that account most worthy of careful study, are:

1. One from the first chapter of the Second Epistle of Clement, in which he contrasts the states of men before and

¹ Clem. i. 7.

² *Ibid.*, i. 21.

³ Eph. iii.

⁴ *Ibid.*, xi.

⁵ *Ibid.*, xv.

⁶ Mag. xii.

after embracing the Gospel. 'Our whole life was nothing else than death. Involved in blindness, and with such darkness before our eyes, we have received sight, and through His will have laid aside that cloud by which we were enveloped. For He had compassion on us, and mercifully saved us, observing the many errors in which we were entangled, as well as the destruction to which we were exposed, and that we had no hope of salvation except it came to us from Him. For He called us when we were not, and willed that out of nothing we should attain a real existence'¹ (*ἐκάλεσεν γὰρ ἡμᾶς οὐκ ὄντας καὶ ἡθέλησεν ἐκ μὴ ὄντος εἶναι ἡμᾶς*). In this passage the deliverance and salvation wrought by Christ is obviously not from prospective terrors of hell, but from a lot in which the punishment is regarded as having already descended, and in course of being endured.

2. The other passage is, to our mind, one of the most remarkable in early Christian patristic literature. It occurs in the Epistle of St. Ignatius to the Magnesians,² and is as follows: 'Seeing, then, all things have an end, these two things are simultaneously set before us—death and life—and everyone shall go unto his own place (*καὶ ἕκαστος εἰς τὸν ἴδιον τόπον μέλλει χωρεῖν*). For as there are two kinds of coins, the one of God, the other of the world, and each of these has its own special impression (*χαρακτῆρα*) stamped upon it [so is it also here]. The unbelieving are of this world; but the believing have, in love, the image of God the Father (*χαρακτῆρα Θεοῦ Πατρὸς*) by Jesus Christ, by whom, if we are *not in readiness to die into His passion* (*δὲ οὐκ ἔαν μὴ αὐθαιρέτως ἔχωμεν τὸ ἀποθανεῖν εἰς τὸ αὐτοῦ Πάθος*), His life is not in us.' In this passage we have clearly expressed both the fact of the continuous and connected chain of experiences which the soul undergoes in this world and the hereafter, and which are respectively incidental to its reconciled and unreconciled estates, and the necessity for a willingness on our part to endure the Passion of Christ, which was the atoning counterpart of our own afflictions.

If these words of St. Ignatius may be taken to reflect the theological position of the Church in sub-Apostolic times, they supply a very strong historical argument in support of the theory which has been exhibited in the preceding chapters.

¹ 2 Clem. i.

² Ignatius Mag. v.

IRENÆUS.

‘The Lord,’ says Irenæus, ‘has redeemed us through His own blood, giving His soul for our souls, and His flesh for our flesh, and has also poured out the Spirit of the Father for the union and communion of God and man, imparting indeed God to men by means of the Spirit, and on the other hand attaching man to God by His own Incarnation, and bestowing upon us at His coming immortality durably and truly by means of communion with God.’¹

The above passage, although only a bare statement of the fact of the reconciliation of man to God through the mediatorial and atoning work of the Saviour, is instructive as indicating the importance attached by Irenæus to the Incarnation as the essential medium of communication between God and man. It does not explain the necessity of the sacrifice of Jesus, though it states that sacrifice as the ground of redemption. Still, it insists on the fact that the whole efficacy of the sacrifice is imparted to man by virtue of the communion which is established by the Incarnation.

Irenæus saw clearly enough that it was not the nature of man which separated him from God, but sin which dwelt in the nature; and that therefore, if the sin could be removed, there was no reason why communion should not be restored.

‘If, therefore, flesh and blood are the things which procure for us life, it has not been declared of flesh and blood in the literal meaning (*proprie*) of the terms that they cannot inherit the kingdom of God; but these words apply to those carnal deeds already mentioned which, perverting man to sin, deprive him of life. And for this reason he says in the Epistle to the Romans: ‘Let not sin, therefore, reign in your mortal body to be under its control: neither yield ye your members instruments of unrighteousness unto sin; but yield yourselves to God as being alive from the dead, and your members as instruments of righteousness unto God.’ In these same members, therefore, in which we used to serve sin, and bring forth fruit unto death, does He wish us to be obedient unto righteousness, that we may bring forth fruit unto life. Remember, therefore, my beloved friend, that thou hast been redeemed by the flesh of our Lord, re-established (*redhibitus*) by His blood.’²

¹ ‘Against Heresies,’ V., i. 1.

² *Ibid.*, xiv. 4.

There is no suggestion in any writings of this Father of any wrath which needs appeasing, or of any obstacle imposed by the justice of God which needs the sacrifice of a perfect life for its satisfaction. Sin is the great enemy of man; and with the destruction of sin in man, and the conquest of death which such destruction involved, the way was immediately laid open to life and immortality. But the following passage is indeed so clear, so unmistakable in its meaning, that the views of Irenæus on this point need no other exposition than they so plainly supply.

‘Therefore, as I have already said, He caused man to cleave to and to become one with God. For unless man had overcome the enemy of man, the enemy would not have been legitimately vanquished. And again: unless it had been God who had freely given salvation, we could never have possessed it securely. And unless man had been joined to God, he could never have become a partaker of incorruptibility. For it was incumbent upon the Mediator between God and man, by His relationship to both, to bring both to friendship and concord, and present man to God, while He revealed God to man. For in what way could we be partakers of the adoption of sons, unless we had received from Him through the Son that fellowship which refers to Himself, unless His Word, having been made flesh, had entered into communion with us? Wherefore, also, He passed through every stage of life, restoring to all communion with God. . . . For it behoved Him who was to destroy sin and redeem man under the power of death, that He should Himself be made that very same thing which He was, that is man; who had been drawn by sin into bondage, but was held by death, so that sin should be destroyed by man, and man should go forth from death. For as by the disobedience of the one man, who was originally moulded from virgin soil, the many were made sinners, and forfeited life; so was it necessary that by the obedience of one man, who was originally born from a virgin, many should be justified and receive salvation.’¹

Irenæus does not, it is true, go on to explain the precise manner in which the purging of our human nature of the sin which is the bar to communion is made; but it is clear that he contemplates the effecting in each man of a real destruction of sin in the flesh by the communion of the immaculate and vic-

¹ ‘Against Heresies,’ III., xviii. 7.

torious flesh of the Saviour, a truth which he states definitely and explicitly in another passage.

'By means of communion with Himself, the Lord has reconciled man to God the Father in reconciling us to Himself by the body of His own flesh, and redeeming us by His own blood, as the Apostle says to the Ephesians: "In whom we have redemption through His blood, the remission of sins"; and, again, to the same he says: "Ye who were formerly far off have been brought near in the blood of Christ"; and, again, "abolishing in His flesh the enmities, even the law of commandments contained in ordinances." And in every Epistle the Apostle plainly testifies that through the flesh of our Lord, and through His blood, we have been saved.'¹

And the purpose of this cleansing is the re-presentation of man to God.

'Christ, who was called the Son of God before the ages, was manifested in the fulness of time in order that He might cleanse us through His blood who were under the power of sin, presenting us as pure sons to His Father if we yield ourselves obediently to the chastisement of the Spirit. And in the end of time He shall come to do away with all evil, and to reconcile all things, in order that there may be an end of all impurities.'²

Irenæus saw clearly enough that, as has been pointed out in the earlier chapters of this book, the sentence of God against sin was not hell, but separation, and that the separation took place almost automatically, as it were, by the entrance of sin into our human nature; and, further, that death, and all the other evils that flesh is heir to, were the natural and accidental concomitants of such separation. 'God,' he says, 'does not punish men immediately of Himself, but that punishment falls upon men because they are destitute of all that is good.' And *the eternal nature of such punishment is accidental, too, and not decreed*, as we have previously explained. 'Now good things,' he says, 'are eternal and without end with God, and therefore the loss of them is eternal and never ending.' But the whole passage in which these views are expressed is so instructive that we cannot refrain from quoting it *in extenso*. It exactly expresses our own view, and supplies the premiss from which the theory we have advanced is quite naturally deduced.

¹ 'Against Heresies,' V., xiv. 3.

² 'Fragments,' xxxix.

‘To as many as continue in their love towards God does He grant communion with Him. But communion with God is life and light, and the enjoyment of all the benefits which He has in store. But on as many as, according to their own choice, depart from God, He inflicts that separation from Himself which they have chosen of their own accord. But separation from God is death, and separation from light is darkness; and separation from God consists in the loss of all the benefits which He has in store. Those therefore who cast away by apostasy these fore-mentioned things, being in fact destitute of all good, do experience every kind of punishment. God, however, does not punish them immediately of Himself, but that punishment falls on them because they are destitute of all that is good. Now good things are eternal and without end with God, and therefore the loss of these is also eternal and never-ending. It is in this matter just as occurs in the case of a flood of light: those who have blinded themselves, or have been blinded by others, are for ever deprived of the enjoyment of light. It is not, however, that the Light has inflicted upon them the penalty of blindness, but it is that the blindness itself has brought calamity upon them; and therefore the Lord declared, “He that believeth on Me is not condemned”—that is, is not separated from God, for he is united to God through faith. On the other hand, he says: “He that believeth not is condemned already, because he has not believed in the name of the only-begotten Son of God”—that is, he separated himself from God of his own accord. “For this is the condemnation that light is come into the world, and men have loved darkness rather than light. For everyone who doeth evil hateth the light, and cometh not to the light lest his deeds should be reproved. But he that doeth truth cometh to the light, that his deeds may be made manifest that he has wrought them in God.”’¹

HIPPOLYTUS.

Hippolytus, as we should expect, reflects the views of his master Irenæus. It will be noticed that he regards hell as the miserable end of a life lived in separation from God. To him it is the ‘outer’ darkness described by Christ where ‘never shines a beam from the irradiating voice of God.’ To this

¹ ‘Against Heresies,’ V., xxvii. 2.

men are already inevitably doomed by the fact of such separation, though a way of escape has been furnished by Christ. Lusts and passions are the things which enslave, and disease and suffering are the necessary consequences.

Exhorting his readers to a study of simple truth, he goes on: 'And by means of this knowledge you shall *escape* the approaching threat of the fire of judgment, and the rayless scenery of gloomy Tartarus, where never shines a beam from the irradiating voice of the Word. In this manner you shall never have to breast the boiling flood of hell's eternal lake of fire, and the eye ever fixed in menacing glare of (wicked) angels chained in Tartarus as punishment for their sins. And you shall never be gnawed upon by the worm that ceaselessly coils for food around the body *whose scum has bred the reptile*. Now torments such as these shalt thou *avoid* by being instructed in a knowledge of the true God. And thou shalt possess an immortal body, even one placed beyond the possibility of corruption, just like the soul. And thou shalt in due time receive the kingdom of heaven, thou who, whilst thou didst sojourn in this life, didst know the celestial King. And hereafter shalt thou be a companion of Deity, and co-heir with Christ, *no longer enslaved by lusts and passions, and never again wasted by disease*. For once the crown of righteousness encircles thy brow, thou hast become God. For whatever sufferings thou didst undergo while being a man, these He gave to thee because thou wast of mortal mould. But whatever attributes it is consistent with the nature of God to impart, these God has promised to bestow on thee, because thou hast been deified and begotten unto immortality. This constitutes the import of the proverb, "Know thyself," or, in other words, "Learn to discover God within thyself," for He has formed thee after His own image. For with the knowledge of self is conjoined the being an object of God's knowledge, for thou art called by the Deity Himself. Be not therefore inflamed, O ye men, with enmity one towards another, nor hesitate to retrace with all speed your steps. For Christ is the God who is above all, and He has arranged to wash away sins from human beings, thereby rendering regenerate the old man. And God called man His likeness from the beginning, and has evinced in a figure His love towards thee. And provided thou obeyest His solemn injunctions, and becomest a faithful follower of Him who is

good, thou shalt in the world to come resemble Him, inasmuch as then thou shalt have honour conferred upon thee by Him. For the Deity by such signal condescension does not diminish aught of the dignity of His Divine perfection, for He has elevated thee, O man, to His own rank, having made thee even God unto His glory.¹

The Incarnation, it will be observed, furnishes the ground whereby deliverance must be sought, and it is effected by the regeneration of the old man. Evil was brought into the world, he says, by the free-will of man; and this free-will must therefore co-operate in man's salvation. Christ's own Manhood was the firstfruits of this deliverance; and if we are to be saved and re-presented as acceptable sons to the Divine Father we must be made one with Him, and through the grace derived from Him must work out our own salvation.

'God, who created the world, did not, nor does not, make evil. He makes what is glorious and excellent; for He who makes it is good. Now man that was brought into existence was a creature endowed with self-determination, yet not possessing a sovereign intellect, nor holding sway over all things by reflection, and authority, and power, but a slave to his passions, and comprising all sorts of contrarieties in himself. But man from the fact of his possessing a capacity of self-determination brings forth what is evil, that is accidentally. . . . Evil had no existence from the beginning, but came into being subsequently. Now since man has free-will, a law has been defined for his guidance by the Deity, not without answering a good purpose. For if man did not possess the power to will and not to will, why should a law be established? For a law will not be laid down for an animal devoid of reason but a bridle and a whip. . . . And these injunctions has God given to the Word. But the Word by declaring them promulgated the Divine commandments, thereby turning man from disobedience, not bringing him into servitude by force of necessity, but summoning him to liberty through a choice involving spontaneity. . . . This Word we know to have received a body from a Virgin, and to have remodelled the old man by a new creation. And we believe the Word to have passed through every period in this life in order that He Himself might serve as a law for every age, and that by being

¹ 'Refutation of all Heresies,' x. 30.

present amongst us He might exhibit His own manhood as an aim for all men. And the Father also sent the Word into the world that by Himself in person He might prove that God made nothing evil, and that man possesses the capacity of self-determination, inasmuch as He is able to will and not to will, and is endued with power to do both. This Man we know to have been made out of the compound of our humanity. For if He were not of the same nature with ourselves, in vain does He ordain that we should imitate the teacher. For if that Man happened to be of a different substance from us, why does He lay injunctions similar to those He has received on myself who am born weak? And how is this the act of One that is good and just? In order, however, that He might not be supposed to be different from us, He even underwent toil, and was willing to endure hunger, and did not refuse to feel thirst, and sunk into the quietude of slumber. For the same reason He did not protest against His passion, but became obedient unto death, and manifested His resurrection. Now in all these acts He offered up, as the firstfruits, His own manhood, in order that thou, when thou art in tribulation, mayest not be disheartened, but confessing thyself to be a man of like nature with the Redeemer mayest dwell in expectation of also receiving what the Father has granted unto this Son.¹

And again :

‘For, whereas the Word of God was without flesh, He took upon Himself the holy flesh by the holy Virgin, and prepared a robe which he wove for Himself, like a bridegroom, in the sufferings of the Cross, in order that, by uniting His own power with our mortal body, and by mixing the incorruptible with the corruptible, and the strong with the weak, He might save perishing man.’²

So also in his treatise against Noetus :

‘Let us believe then, dear brethren, according to the tradition of the Apostles that God the Word came down from heaven, and entered into the holy Virgin Mary in order that, taking the flesh from her, and assuming also a human, by which I mean rational, soul, and becoming thus all that man is with the exception of sin, He might save fallen man, and confer immortality on men who believe on His name.’³

¹ ‘Refutation of all Heresies,’ x. 29.

² ‘Christ and Antichrist,’ 4.

³ ‘Against Noetus,’ 17.

CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA.

In Clement, as in all these early writers, the dread of future punishment is always associated with the horrors of present sin. The thought of propitiating God with a view to the mere avoidance of the consequences of sin never seems to have entered into their minds. We have seen how Irenæus regarded the matter. Clement is equally clear on the point of the simultaneity of sin and death. We are not *going* to die and eventually be punished because we sin. We are dead. The sentence has fallen. 'In the day thou eatest thou shalt die.' The efforts of men are directed to the finding of a way of escape. The aim of the Gospel is to show men dead in trespasses and sins how to obtain life.

'The assertion, then, may be hazarded, that it has been shown that death is the fellowship of the soul in a state of sin with the body; and life the separation from sin.'¹

So it follows that the Gospel ought to be embraced, not from any fear of punishment or hope of reward, but because of the hatefulness of sin, and a love of righteousness. It is this hungering and thirsting after righteousness for its own sake that, in Clement's opinion, is the mark of a true Christian.

'We must, then, according to my view, have recourse to the word of salvation, neither from fear of punishment nor promise of a gift, but on account of the good itself. Such as do so stand on the right hand of the sanctuary; but those who think that by the gift of what is perishable they shall receive in exchange what belongs to immortality, are, in the parable of the two brothers, called hirelings.'²

'This, then, is the perfect man's first form of doing good, when it is done not from any advantage in what pertains to him, but because he judges it right to do good; and the energy being vigorously exerted in all things, in the very act becomes good; not good in some things, and not good in others; but consisting in the habit of doing good, neither for glory, nor, as the philosophers say, for reputation, nor from reward either from men or God; but so as to pass life after the image and likeness of God.'³

Clement, too, is quite clear on the point that the accidental concomitants of sin, suffering, pain, and so forth, are not of God's direct inflicting, but the inevitable outcome of expatriation.

¹ 'Miscellanies,' iv. 3.

² *Ibid.*, iv. 6.

³ *Ibid.*, iv. 22.

‘For neither did the Lord suffer by the will of the Father, nor are those who are persecuted persecuted by the will of God ; since either of two things is the case—either persecution in consequence of the will of God is a good thing, or those who decree and afflict are guiltless. But nothing is without the will of the Lord of the universe. It remains to say that such things happen without the prevention of God. . . . We must not, therefore, think that He actively produces afflictions (far be that we should think this!); but we must be persuaded that He does not prevent those that cause them, but over-rules for good the crimes of His enemies.’¹

Nor does he believe that eternal duration is an essential part of the punishment. He does not, it is true, say so in so many words, as Irenæus does; but it may be inferred from his remarks upon the incident of our Saviour’s descent into Hades. The punishment is contemplated as endured equally on both sides of the grave; and escape is viewed as being possible at any moment either here or in the hereafter on the conversion and repentance of the expatriated soul.

‘And, as I think, the Saviour also exerts His might because it is His work to save; which accordingly He also did by drawing to salvation those who became willing, by the preaching of the Gospel, to believe in Him wherever they were. If, then, the Lord descended to Hades for no other purpose but to preach the Gospel, as He did descend; it was either to preach the Gospel to all or to the Hebrews only. If accordingly to all, then all who believe shall be saved, although they may be of the Gentiles, on making their profession there; since God’s punishments are saving and disciplinary, leading to conversion, and choosing rather the repentance than the death of the sinner; and especially since souls although darkened by passions, when released from their bodies, are able to perceive more clearly because of their being no longer obstructed by the paltry flesh. . . . So I think it is demonstrated that God being good, and the Lord powerful, they save with a righteousness and equality which extend to all that turn to Him, whether here or elsewhere. For it is not here alone that the active power of God is beforehand, but it is everywhere and it is always at work.’²

The necessity for the co-operation of the human will with

¹ ‘Miscellanies,’ iv. 12.

² *Ibid.*, vi. 6; and compare the whole chapter in which the same thoughts are elaborated.

the Divine in the work of reconciliation is clearly seen, although, of course, there is definite acknowledgment of the need of Divine grace in order to assist such co-operation.

'Since some are unbelieving, and some are disputatious, all do not attain to the perfection of the good. For neither is it possible to attain it without the exercise of freechoice; nor does the whole depend on our own purpose; as, for example, what is destined to happen. "For by grace we are saved," not indeed without good works; but we must, by being formed for what is good, acquire an inclination for it. And we must possess the healthy mind which is fixed on the pursuit of the good; in order to which we have the greatest need of Divine grace, and of right teaching, and of holy susceptibility, and of the drawing of the Father to Him.'¹

But it is the subjective aspect of atonement that presented itself most forcibly to the mind of Clement, as to most of the early Fathers. The work has to be wrought in man rather than for man. The modern uncatholic and unscriptural notion of 'nothing to do, only believe,' would have presented itself to them as the principle of another cult altogether, and as remote from Christianity as the Ritual of Confucius, or the Institutes of Manu. Christ won immortality for humanity. The Incarnation enabled God to achieve, through the new Man Jesus, a victory over sin and death; but the victory of Jesus was in no sense a substitution for effort on man's part. There must be the same conflict and the same victory on the part of every man who aspires to the same reward. The essential thing, therefore, was the incorporation of our nature with His. There is a magnificent passage in his exhortation to the heathen which is especially worthy of study.

'Let us, then, admit the light that we may admit God; let us admit the light and become disciples of the Lord. . . . Praise and declare to me Thy Father God; Thy utterances save; Thy hymn teaches that hitherto I have wandered in error seeking God. But since Thou leadest me to the light, O Lord, and I find God through Thee, and receive the Father from Thee, I become Thy "fellow heir," since Thou wert not ashamed of me as Thy brother He hath changed sunset into sunrise, and through the Cross brought death to life; and having wrenched man from destruction He hath raised him to the skies, transplanting mortality into immortality and trans-

¹ 'Miscellanies,' v. i.

lating earth to heaven; . . . having bestowed on us the truly great, Divine, and inalienable inheritance of the Father, deifying man by heavenly teaching, putting His laws into our minds, and writing them in our hearts. . . . The Word having unfolded the truth showed to men the height of salvation, that either repenting they might be saved, or refusing to obey they might be judged. This is the proclamation of righteousness: to those that obey, glad tidings; to those that disobey, judgment. . . . The heavenly and truly Divine love comes to men thus, when in the soul itself the spark of true goodness, kindled in the soul by the Divine word, is able to burst forth into flame; and, what is of the highest importance, salvation runs parallel with sincere willingness—choice and life being, so to speak, yoked together. . . . What, then, is the exhortation I give you? I urge you to be saved. This Christ desires. In one word He freely bestows life on you. And who is He? Briefly learn. The Word of Truth, the Word of incorruption, that regenerates man by bringing him back to Truth—the goad that urges to salvation—He who expels destruction and pursues death—He who builds up the temple of God in men that He may cause God to take up His abode in men. Cleanse the temple; and pleasures and amusements abandon to the winds and the fire as a fading flower; but wisely cultivate the fruits of self-command and present thyself to God as an offering of firstfruits, that there may be not the work alone but also the grace of God; and both are requisite, that the friend of Christ may be rendered worthy of the kingdom, and be counted worthy of the kingdom.

‘Come to me that you may be put in your due rank under the one God and the one Word of God; and do not only have the advantage of the irrational creatures in the possession of reason; for to you of all mortals I grant the enjoyment of immortality. For I want to impart to you this grace, bestowing on you the perfect boon of immortality; and I confer on you both the Word and the knowledge of God, my complete self. This am I; this God wills; this is symphony; this the harmony of the Father; this is the Son; this is Christ; this the Word of God, the arm of the Lord, the power of the universe, the will of the Father. Of which things there were images of old, but not all adequate. I desire to restore you to the original model, that ye may become also like me.’¹

¹ ‘Exhortation to the Heathen,’ xi. and xii.

ORIGEN.

Like all the teachers of this period, Origen held to the fundamental truth of the freedom of the human will.

'This also is clearly defined in the teaching of the Church, that every rational soul is possessed of free will and volition; that it has a struggle to maintain with the devil and his angels, and opposing influences, because they strive to burden it with sins. But if we live rightly and wisely we should endeavour to shake ourselves free from a burden of this kind. From which it follows also that we understand ourselves not to be subject to necessity, so as to be compelled by all means, even against our will, to do either good or evil. For if we are our own masters, some influences perhaps may impel us to sin, and others help to salvation. We are not forced, however, by necessity either to act rightly or wrongly, which those persons think is the case who say that the courses and movements of the stars are the cause of human actions, not only of those which take place beyond the influence of the freedom of the will, but also of those which are placed within our power.'¹

Death is the natural consequence of sin, and it ensued, as a matter of course, in accordance with the warning of God ('In the day thou eatest,' etc.), upon the rebellious assertion of man's will in opposition to His. Man died because he separated himself by his own wilfulness from Him who is the source of life. The state of separation is, therefore, a state of death, and it is from this state that God is concerned to rescue him.

'But since it was to come to pass that some also should fall away from life, and bring death upon themselves by their declension—for *death is nothing else than a departure from life*—and as it was not to follow that those beings which had once been created by God for the enjoyment of life should utterly perish, it was necessary that, before death, there should be in existence such a power as would destroy the coming death, and *that there should be a resurrection*, the type of which was in our Lord and Saviour, and that this resurrection should have its ground in the wisdom and word and life of God.'²

The way by which the deliverance is to be eventually wrought is by delivering man from that one thing, sin, which was the cause of this severance.

¹ 'De Principiis,' Preface, 5.

² *Ibid.*, I., ii. 4.

'Such arrangements have been made' (that is to say, all connected with the Incarnation of Christ and His appearing and living amongst men), 'not for the sake of those who, being already friends, afterwards fell sick and became afflicted with mental disease, but in order that those who were still enemies through sickness of the soul and alienation of the natural reason might become the friends of God. For it is distinctly stated that Jesus endured all things on behalf of sinners, that He might free them from sin and convert them to righteousness.'¹

Origen is quite as emphatic as the rest as to the accidental nature of the evils attendant on expatriation, and clearer than most in his views about hell. He saw plainly enough that God was not to be held responsible for that which is the perfectly logical consequence and development of the assertion of man's will in opposition to God's. Hell is not in his view a terror which God arbitrarily threatens.² God being what He is, cannot without His ceasing to be God remove sinners from their 'own place' to His 'own place.' He cannot sanction, or connive at, or excuse sin. And hell is only the inevitable outcome of sin. God's effort, therefore, is, as has been said, directed entirely to the removal of the sin.

'We find in the prophet Isaiah, that the fire with which each one is punished is described as his own; for he says: "Walk in the light of your own fire, and in the flame which ye have kindled." By these words it seems to be indicated that every sinner kindles for himself the flame of his own fire, and is not plunged into some fire which has been already kindled by another, or was in existence before himself. Of this fire the food and fuel are our sins, which are called by the Apostle Paul, wood, and hay, and stubble. . . . So when the soul has gathered together a multitude of evil works and an abundance of sins against itself, at a suitable time all that assembly of evils boils up to punishment, and is set on fire to chastisements; when the mind itself or conscience, receiving by Divine power into the memory all those things of which it had stamped on itself certain signs and forms at the moment of sinning, will

¹ 'Against Celsus,' iv. 19.

² It is this inevitableness of hell which, to our mind, is the most terrible thing about it. If it were, as it is often assumed, a matter within the scope of God's arbitrary regulation, it would not be half so dreadful. It is this very powerlessness of God to avert the inevitable doom of the wilful sinner that fills the mind with such distress.

see a kind of history, as it were, of all the foul and shameful and unholy deeds which it has done exposed before its eyes. Then the conscience itself, harassed and pierced by its own goads, becomes an accuser and witness against itself. And this, I think, was the opinion of the Apostle Paul himself, when he said, "Their thoughts mutually accusing or excusing them in the day when God will judge the secrets of men by Jesus Christ according to my Gospel." From which it is understood that around the substance of the soul certain tortures are produced by the hurtful affection of sins themselves.¹

At the same time Origen sees clearly the beneficial character, if rightly apprehended, of these evil consequences as calling attention to the fact of sin. Like the other teachers of the Alexandrian school, he taught that there were two stages of Christian apprehension. As men progressed from the lower to the higher, so they began to perceive more clearly the real nature and purpose of God's method of dealing with His creatures. The doctrine, if pushed too far, is a dangerous one. It is difficult in all cases, and well-nigh impossible in some, to eradicate an idea which has become a fundamental principle of action. But Origen and those who thought with him taught, that it was necessary in some cases to permit Christian converts in the early days of their faith to hold views, which it was hoped and believed their subsequent experience would enable them to correct. And in no case is this more striking than in his way of presenting this question of punishment. He himself, as he plainly states, is out of sympathy with the idea that threats of punishment effect salvation. But he defends this way of dealing with simple and depraved folk on the ground that they could in the first instance be impressed in no other way. He deals with the matter both in his '*De Principiis*,'² and in his treatise, '*Against Celsus*,'³ arguing that men are led on from that which is inefficacious to that which is effectual. His excuse is that inasmuch as the punishments are real, such a course is justifiable; but admits that sin must in all cases be eventually repudiated, and righteousness sought, for their own sake alone.

There was, however, no doubt in his own mind as to the

¹ '*De Principiis*,' II., x. 4.

² III., v. 8.

³ III., 78 and 79.

necessity on man's part for a real desire to be freed from sin, and to attain to moral excellence. There could be no effectual application of the grace which saves until men realized their need of it.

'There are many ways of apprehending Christ, who, although He is wisdom, does not act the part or possess the power of wisdom in all men, but only in those who give themselves to the study of wisdom in Him; and who, although called a Physician, does not act as one towards all, but only towards those who understand their feeble and sickly condition, and flee to His compassion that they may obtain health.'¹

So again:

'We teach that every man, whoever he may be, is conscious of human infirmity in comparison with the greatness of God, and that we must ever ask from Him who alone is able to supply deficiencies what is wanting to our mortal nature.'²

As to the co-operation of Divine grace with the human will, Origen is as definite as Clement in his insistence on the powerlessness of man to effect his deliverance without the indwelling power of the Word.

'For ourselves we maintain that human nature is in no way able to seek after God, or to attain a clear knowledge of Him without the help of Him whom it seeks. He makes Himself known to those who, after doing all that their powers will allow, confess that they need help from Him, who discovers Himself to those whom He approves, in so far as it is possible for man and the soul still dwelling in the body to know God.'³

And in his 'De Principiis' he employs an illustration which makes his position plain:

'As if also it were said with regard to husbandry what also is actually recorded: "I planted, Apollos watered, and God gave the increase. So then neither is he that planteth anything, neither he that watereth, but God that giveth the increase." Now we could not piously assert that the production of full crops was the work of the husbandman or of him that watered, but the work of God. So also our own perfection is brought about, not as if we ourselves did nothing; for it is not completed by us, but God produces the greater part of it. . . . For in comparison with the effect of the winds,

¹ 'De Principiis,' II., vii. 3.

² 'Against Celsus,' iii. 64.

³ *Ibid.*, vii. 42.

and the mildness of the air, and the light of the stars, all co-operating in the preservation of the crew, what proportion could the art of navigation be said to bear on the bringing of the ship into harbour?—since even the sailors themselves from piety do not venture to assert often that they had saved the ship, but refer all to God; not as if they had done nothing, but because what had been done by Providence was infinitely greater than what had been effected by their art. And in the matter of our salvation, what is done by God is infinitely greater than what is done by ourselves. And therefore I think it is said that it is “not of him that willeth, nor of him that runneth, but of God that showeth mercy.”¹

To Origen the atonement as effected by the Incarnation was subjective rather than objective. Christ dealt the first blow in the conflict with sin; but this did not do away with the necessity for each man dealing subsequent blows on his own account, though of course the effectual character of such blows derived all their virtue from the power imparted to them by the Word, with whom man had become incorporate. Salvation was not a something done for man, but a work wrought in man. Christ did nothing which man was not expected to do afterwards for himself; though it was Christ’s doing it in the flesh through the Incarnation that rendered possible the doing of it by man.

‘That which is predicted by the prophets is worthy of God, that He who is the brightness and express image of the Divine nature should come into the world with the holy human soul which was to animate the body of Jesus, to *sow the seed of His word*, which might bring all who observed and cherished it into union with the Most High God, and which would lead to perfect blessedness all those who felt within them the power of God the Word, who was to be in the body and soul of a man. He was to be in it indeed, but not in such a way as to confine therein all the rays of His glory; and we are not to suppose that the light of Him who is God the Word is shed forth in no other way than in this. If, then, we consider Jesus in relation to the divinity that was in Him, the things which He did in this capacity present nothing to offend our ideas of God, nothing but what is holy; and if we consider Him as man, distinguished beyond all other men by an infinite communion with the Eternal Word, with absolute

¹ ‘De Principiis,’ III., i. 18.

Wisdom, He suffered as one who was wise and perfect, whatever it behoved Him to suffer who did all for the good of the human race, yea, even for the good of all intelligent beings. And there is nothing absurd in a man having died, and in his death being not only an example of death endured for the sake of piety, but also *the first blow in the conflict* which is to overthrow the power of that evil spirit the Devil, who had obtained dominion over the whole world. For we have signs and pledges of the destruction of his empire in those who through the coming of Christ are everywhere escaping from the power of demons, and who, after the deliverance from the bondage in which they were held, consecrate themselves to God, and earnestly devote themselves day by day to advancement in a life of piety.¹

‘The only-begotten Son of God, who was the Word and the Wisdom of the Father, when He was in the possession of that glory with the Father, which He had before the world was, divested Himself of it, and taking the form of a servant was made obedient unto death, *that He might teach obedience to those who could not otherwise than by obedience obtain salvation . . . of obedience*, as we have said, *accomplishing in Himself first what He desired to be accomplished by others*, He became obedient to the Father not only to the death of the Cross, but also, in the end of the world, embracing in Himself all whom He subjects to the Father, and who by Him come to salvation; He Himself *along with them and in them* is said also to be subject to the Father; all things subsisting in Him, and He Himself being the head of all things, and in Him being the salvation and all the fulness of those who obtain salvation.’²

‘And who else is able to save and conduct the soul of man to the God of all things save God the Word, who, “being in the beginning with God,” became flesh for the sake of those who had cleaved to the flesh, and had become as flesh that He might be received by those who could not behold Him, inasmuch as He was the Word, and was with God, and was God? And discoursing in human form, and announcing Himself as flesh, He calls to Himself those who are flesh, that He may in the first place *cause them to be transformed* according to the Word that was made flesh, and afterwards may lead them upwards to behold Him as He was before He became flesh; so that they receiving the benefit, and ascending from

¹ ‘Against Celsus,’ vii. 17.

² ‘De Principiis,’ III., v. 6.

their great introduction to Him, which was according to the flesh, say, "Even if we have known Christ after the flesh, yet henceforth know we Him no more."¹

'To explain the matter more fully, it will not appear absurd to make use of an illustration, although on a subject of so much difficulty it is not easy to obtain suitable illustrations. However, if we may speak without offence, the metal iron is capable of cold and heat. If, then, a mass of iron be kept constantly in the fire receiving the heat through all its pores and veins, and the fire being continuous and the iron never removed from it, it become wholly converted into the latter; could we at all say of this which is by nature a mass of iron, that when placed in the fire and incessantly burning it was at any time capable of admitting cold? On the contrary, because it is more consistent with truth, do we not rather say, what we often see happening in furnaces, that it has become wholly fire, seeing nothing but fire is visible in it? And if anyone were to attempt to touch or handle it, he would experience the action not of iron but of fire. In this way, then, the soul which, like an iron in the fire, has been perpetually placed in the Word, and perpetually in the Wisdom, and perpetually in God, is God in all that it does, feels, and understands; and therefore can be called neither convertible nor mutable, inasmuch as being incessantly heated it possesses immutability from its union with the Word of God.'²

TERTULLIAN.

Tertullian is the most voluminous of all the writers of the early Church; his works embrace a larger variety of subjects than those of any other; and he underwent a change of spiritual feeling in middle life. Yet, with all this variety of opportunity, he nowhere deals directly with the subject of atonement in its philosophical aspect. The matter was one which remained outside the scope of his various controversies and experiences. He never doubted the fact of reconciliation; he never wavered in his conviction of the efficacy of the Sacrament of the Holy Eucharist. Still, as the validity of atonement was never questioned by any of his numerous opponents, he was never called upon to employ his great abilities in its defence.

¹ 'Against Celsus,' vi. 68.

² 'De Principiis,' II., vi. 6.

The bent of Tertullian's mind was strongly puritan, and it is, perhaps, hardly fair to argue as to what would have been his views from isolated references. He was inclined to sit more loosely to practices which some might consider essential to orthodoxy than any other Father of this early period. He strongly advocates the doctrine of 'Free-will'; and points out that it was the exercise of this freedom of choice that is entirely responsible for the evil that is in the world.

'If man had been directly appointed to die as the condition of his creation, then, of course, death must be imputed to nature. Now, that he was not thus appointed to die is proved by the very law which made his condition depend on a warning, and death result from man's arbitrary choice. Indeed, if he had not sinned he certainly would not have died.'¹

He further elaborates the point by showing that God deliberately refrained from exercising the power which He possessed to prevent the entrance of sin and its disastrous consequences; because, if He had done so, He would have destroyed this freedom of choice with which He had deliberately invested man, though in so investing him He had afforded the opportunity for falling. Tertullian has, however, the greatest faith in the capacity of man; and argues that the very fact of the threat of death ('In the day thou eatest,' etc.) shows that God Himself declares man to have the power to refrain from sin if he be disposed to resist it.

'He would not have made all things subject to man if he had been too weak for the dominion, and inferior to the angels, to whom He assigned no such subjects; nor would He have put the burden of the law upon him if he had been incapable of sustaining so great a weight; nor, again, would He have threatened with the penalty of death a creature whom He knew to be guiltless on the score of his helplessness. In short, if He had made him infirm, it would not have been by liberty and independence of will, but rather by the withholding from him these endowments. And thus it comes to pass that even now also, the same human being, the same substance of his soul, the same condition as Adam's, is made conqueror over the same devil by the *same liberty and power of his will, when it moves in obedience to the laws of God.*'²

And again:

'The necessary consequence, therefore, was, that God must

¹ 'De Anima,' lii.

² 'Against Marcion,' II., viii.

separate from the liberty which He had once for all bestowed upon man—in other words keep within Himself—both his foreknowledge and power, through which He might have prevented man's falling into danger when attempting wrongly to enjoy his liberty. Now, if He had interposed, He would have rescinded the liberty of man's free-will which He had permitted with set purpose and in goodness.¹

We do not press the point, but there seems to have been a disposition in his mind to regard the inconveniences, the disasters, which ensue on the separation which was the immediate result of sin, as accidental, rather than part of God's deliberate sentence.

'Up to the fall of man, therefore, from the beginning God was simply good. After that He became a judge both severe, and as the Marcionites will have it, cruel. . . . Thus, God's prior goodness was from nature, His subsequent severity from a cause. The one was innate, *the other accidental*; the one His own, the other adapted; the one issuing from Him, the other admitted by Him.'²

There is no doubt but that Tertullian viewed the Incarnation as the immediate means of bringing about the reconciliation. There is a striking passage in his treatise 'On the Flesh of Christ,' in which he argues the necessity for His human nature being the exact counterpart of ours, or the abolition of sin in the flesh, which was the effectuating cause of such reconciliation, would not have been possible.

'We maintain that what has been abolished in Christ is not *carnem peccati*, "sinful flesh," but *peccatum carnis*, "sin in the flesh"; not the material thing, but its condition; not the substance, but its flaw. And this we aver on the authority of the Apostle, who says, "He abolished sin in the flesh." Now, in another sentence he says that Christ was in "the likeness of the flesh," not, however, as if He had taken on Him "the likeness of the flesh" in the semblance of a body instead of its reality; but he means us to understand likeness to the flesh which sinned, because the flesh of Christ which committed no sin itself resembled that which had sinned—resembled it in its nature, but not in the corruption it received from Adam. Whence we also affirm that there was in Christ the same flesh as that whose nature in man is sinful. In the flesh, therefore, we say that sin has been abolished because in Christ that same

¹ 'Against Marcion,' II., vii.

² *Ibid.*, II., xi.

flesh is maintained without sin, which in man was not maintained without sin. Now it would not contribute to the purpose of Christ's abolishing sin in the flesh if He did not abolish it in that flesh in which was the nature of sin, nor would it conduce to His glory. For surely it would have been no strange thing if He had removed the stain of sin in some better flesh, and one which should possess a different, even a sinless nature! Then you say if He took our flesh Christ's was a sinful one. Do not, however, fetter with mystery a sense which is quite intelligible; for on putting on our flesh He made it His own; in making it His own He made it sinless.¹

Tertullian does not explain the way in which the merits of Christ's victory are transferred to man, though it is obvious he contemplated the actual rehabilitation of our nature by means of virtue derived by vital contact with the new Adam, and a gradual transformation as the result of such contact.

'Now, it will be necessary to show what previous reason there was for the Son of God being born of a virgin. He who was going to consecrate a new order of birth must Himself be born after a novel fashion, concerning which Isaiah foretold how that the Lord Himself would give the sign. What, then, is the sign? "Behold, a virgin shall conceive and bear a son." Accordingly, a virgin did conceive and bear "Emmanuel God with us." This is the new nativity. A man is born in God. And in this man God was born, taking the flesh of an ancient race, without the help, however, of the ancient seed, in order that *He might re-form it with a new seed*—that is in a spiritual manner—and cleanse it by the removal of all its ancient stains.'²

There is a remarkable passage in his treatise 'On Repentance,' which shows that he fully recognised the saving virtue of confession of sin as an essential feature in a complete repentance, though he does not press the argument to the point to which it has been carried in the preceding chapters of this book. The mind of Tertullian was emphatically logical. We may, therefore, be perhaps excused for thinking it possible that, had the matter been so placed before him, he would have recognised that Christ's endurance of all the evils resulting from sin made possible (by virtue of our union with Him) the presentation by man of similar suffering as a confession which

¹ 'On the Flesh of Christ,' xvi.

² *Ibid.*, xvii.

should satisfy all the requirements of the Divine righteousness, and thus, as he puts it, 'discharge eternal punishments.'

'This act, which is more usually expressed and commonly spoken of under a Greek name, is *ἐξομολόγησις*, whereby we confess our sins to the Lord, not, indeed, as if He were ignorant of them but inasmuch as *by confession satisfaction is settled*: of confession, repentance is born; by repentance God is appeased. And thus *ἐξομολόγησις* is a discipline for man's prostration and humiliation, enjoining a demeanour calculated to move mercy. With regard, also, to the very dress and food, it commands the penitent to lie in sackcloth and ashes, to cover his body in mourning, etc. . . . All this *ἐξομολόγησις* does that it may enhance repentance; may honour God by its fear of the incurred danger; may, by itself pronouncing against the sinner, stand in the stead of God's indignation, and by temporal mortification, I will not say frustrate, but discharge eternal punishments. Therefore, while it abases the man it raises him; while it covers him with squalor it renders him more clean; while it accuses it excuses; while it condemns it absolves. The less quarter you give yourself the more, believe me, will God give you.'¹

CYPRIAN.

The value of confession as essential to the making of satisfaction to God for sin was no less apparent to Cyprian.

'We ought, first of all, to pray and to entreat the Lord Himself and then through Him to make satisfaction to God the Father. We have an advocate and an intercessor for our sins, Jesus Christ the Lord and our God, if only we repent of our sins past, and confess and acknowledge our sins whereby we now offend the Lord, and for the time to come engage to walk in His ways and to fear His commandments.'²

So again in his address to Demetrianus:

'Do you entreat for your sin, although it be in the very end of life, and at the setting of the sun of time; and implore God who is the One and true God, in confession and faith of acknowledgment of Him, and pardon is granted to the man who confesses, and saving mercy is given from the Divine goodness to the believer, and a passage is opened to immortality, even in death itself. This grace Christ bestows; this

¹ 'On Repentance,' ix.

² 'Epistles,' vii. 5.

gift of His mercy He confers upon us, by overcoming death in the trophy of the Cross, by redeeming the believer with the price of His blood, by reconciling man to God the Father, by quickening our mortal nature with a heavenly regeneration.¹

The closing words of the above passage are singularly pregnant. They contain a complete summary of the process of reconciliation—the objective merit of the Passion, and the subjective appropriation of its benefits by regeneration. But, perhaps, the most striking passage of all is that in his fifty-fifth epistle in which he plainly states his view that our present sufferings, equally with the sufferings of Christ, are to be borne with similar resignation and for a similar reason. Our sufferings, no less than His, are to be borne with utter resignation and in a spirit of willing obedience, in order to our eventual adoption as sons by the perfect Father.

‘How grave is the case of a Christian man if he, a servant, is unwilling to suffer for his own sins, when He who had no sin suffered for us! The Son of God suffered that He might make us sons of God, and the son of man will not suffer that he may continue to be a son of God.’²

The Incarnation was clearly seen by Cyprian to be the effectual means of reconciliation; and the case is so stated by him that it is evident he viewed the experiences of Christ in the flesh as the counterpart of ours, and the virtue to lie not in the intrinsically transcendent nature of the sufferings themselves, but in the transcendent character imparted to them by Christ’s sinlessness.

‘He enters into a virgin. Being the Holy Spirit, He is endued with flesh: God is mingled with man. This is our God, this is Christ, who, as the mediator of the two, puts on man that He may lead them to the Father. *What man is Christ was willing to be*, that man also may be what Christ is.’³

Cyprian saw clearly enough that there was no need for Christ to be holden of death in order to a perfect confession of man’s sin. His object was achieved when He had endured to the uttermost the painful effects of the sentence of expatriation from the birth to the severance of the soul and body in death. Having so endured, He ascended to heaven in order that He might exhibit to the Father—as it was the Father’s will that He should—the trophies of His victory in the stainless

¹ ‘Address to Demetrianus,’ 24.

² ‘Epistles,’ lv. 6.

³ ‘On the Vanity of Idols,’ II.

flesh which he had carried immaculately through every stage of the Passion.

‘The testimony of all the prophets had preceded Him that it behoved Him to suffer, not that He might feel death, but that He might conquer death, and that when He should have suffered, He should return again unto heaven to show the power of the Divine majesty. . . . He was lifted up into heaven that as a conqueror He might bring to the Father man whom He loved, whom He put on, whom He shielded from death.’¹

¹ ‘On the Vanity of Idols,’ 14.

CHAPTER VII

THE OLD COVENANT SACRIFICES

IT is, of course, only possible in respect of sacrifice, even when offered to the true God, to regard Him to whom it was offered in an anthropomorphic fashion. We do so, in fact, unconsciously, just as in referring to Him we, without premeditation, employ the masculine pronoun. However exalted our ideas of God may be, however pure, however spiritual, they must inevitably be circumscribed by the limits imposed by human finitude. We are obliged to think of God, if we think of Him at all, as a Being who is capable of receiving sensible impressions—as one who sees, hears, and feels. We could not otherwise image Him to ourselves as one who takes note of what is going on in our world, or capable of directing the course of it. He must, we say, be capable of feeling, for He is kindly disposed towards us, and He resents evil and wrong-doing. He sees and hears, or how otherwise could He know when right or wrong is done? And if He be possessed of these senses, then why not of the other two? Pre-Mosaic and all heathen sacrificial systems frankly assume that He is; and although we do not think it is necessary to assume the possession of such faculties as taste and smell by the Deity in order to an adequate exposition of their meaning, it must be admitted that the Israelites did regard Jehovah as sensuously affected by their burnt offerings, and that they were encouraged, or, at least, not discouraged, by the language of revelation so to regard Him. And, indeed, man's conception of the Deity's modes of operation cannot transcend his experience. We cannot invent God. Yet, whilst we fully recognise the impossibility of regarding God as other than a kind of greater man, or as endowed with other functions and faculties than those with

which experience has made us familiar, we frankly acknowledge that our conception is purely the outcome of human infirmity, to which, however, the whole mode of revelation is a necessary accommodation.

When we know what God is—what that Entity is which the word ‘God’ in our language stands for—our conceptions will, of course, then correspond with our enlarged experience: we shall know as we are known. Yet we believe that our ideas of Him, in so far as they are shaped by His revelation to us in Scripture and in the Church, will not be essentially uprooted or contradicted. For instance, the doctrine of the Holy Trinity, by which we are taught to allow for what is called a *tri-personality* in the *substance* of the Supreme Being, is of course an adaptation to our lack of knowledge. It is not possible for us to think of more than one first cause, nor of a beginning to a first cause, nor of a first cause without consciousness, nor of a conscious unit other than as containing in itself that upon which consciousness can be exercised—elements, that is to say, capable of division and combination—nor of such combination in living conscious unity other than as distinct personalities, nor of persons other than as characters. As an adaptation, therefore, to our necessities, the utter absolute necessities of our being, God is revealed to us in the persons of a loving Father, an obedient Son, and an inter-communing Spirit. Probably the word *persona*, as an adequate recognition of eternal requirements, is as far as human conception can get. We do not know God. When we do, we shall see clearly enough what this revelation of a tri-personality means. But whatever it does mean, and whatever fact in the Godhead corresponds to what we on account of our circumscribed capacity call the tri-personality, we shall certainly not find that this corresponding reality contradicts the essential principle of truth, which the doctrine of the Trinity was revealed in order to impart. God will be found to include Fatherhood, Sonship, and Spirit. But that by way of illustration only; our present object is not to discuss the doctrine of the Trinity. Nevertheless, the difficulties attending an intellectual exposition of a matter, recondite from no other cause than our ignorance of the nature of Deity, may very well, we think, be taken as illustrating the kind of difficulty which we shall expect to meet with when we come to consider the reasonableness of sacrifice. In the abstract sacrifice can hardly be intelligently defended.

We should say that it certainly cannot in its Godward aspect. We may be quite sure that whatever value in the Divine economy attaches to the slaughter and destruction by fire of cattle, or to the smouldering of scented canes, or to the burning of oil and flour, such practices could be of no material service to Him on whose behalf such an apparently useless destruction of food and property was made. The death of the beast as a spectacle cannot afford Him pleasure; the fumes of the perfumed smoke cannot be seriously regarded as pleasantly titillating His nostrils; the smell of roast or baked food cannot be supposed either to excite or to satiate His appetite, or in any way to stimulate His palate. It was clearly not on His own account that He ordered sacrifices to be offered to Himself. Whatever value they had must have been entirely on man's account; and the early Fathers are neither slow to perceive nor backward to declare this.¹ Yet there can be no reasonable doubt but that those who offered the sacrifices believed that they did afford gratification to the Deity; indeed, it is not easy to see how they could well have thought differently. God appeared to them, as indeed He does for the most part to us, as a sort of glorified man. He would possess His senses in exalted fashion, no doubt. But the senses were there, and in their imagination as real as were their own, and quite as capable of smelling the roast, and inhaling the perfume.²

In saying this we are not thinking at all of the truculent swashbucklers and philandering courtesans of heathen mythology. The Israelites who worshipped the true God, and who worshipped Him, moreover, in a manner prescribed by Himself, must in the bulk have so regarded the Most High, notwithstanding the repeated warnings of Psalmist and Prophet. And there was no harm in their entertaining these views provided that they did not allow them to overshadow or to invalidate the great moral teaching which the practice of sacrifice involved. What could it matter to the Deity, whatever His nature may be, how His Being was regarded by His worshippers, provided He was worshipped in reverence and love, and pro-

¹ Justin Martyr, 'Apol.,' i. 13; 'Plea of Athenagoras,' 13; Clement of Alexandria, 'Miscellanies,' vii. 3; Lactantius, 'Divine Institutes,' vi. 24; 'Epitome,' lviii.; Irenæus, 'Contra Hær.,' IV., xvii. 5, and xviii.; Origen, 'Contra Celsum,' vi. 70, etc.

² Deut. xxxviii. 10.

vided also that the anthropomorphic conceptions of those who sought to approach Him by these means did not render of none effect the plans which He in His wisdom had contrived for their rescue from the meshes of sin?

Viewed apart from its moral teaching, sacrifice could only be regarded in the way in which, in point of fact, it was regarded by all Gentile nations, and as it is regarded by all ignorant heathen to-day. These offered and still offer sacrifices, animal and sometimes human, in order to propitiate their gods. In time of war they sacrifice in order that the gods may grant them victory, whether their cause be morally good or bad. In time of peace they bribe Him with sacrifices in order to gain a plentiful crop, or to get the best of a rascally deal. No question of right or wrong enters into their consideration at all. If they can only succeed in getting the gods into a good temper by placating them with a sufficiently attractive offering, their requests will be granted, they believe, on no other grounds than that they have succeeded in so pleasing the gods.

The old covenant conception of sacrifice was something essentially different from this. With the Israelites the doctrine of sacrifice was grounded upon, and had its *raison d'être* in, the moral teaching of the Ten Commandments. The necessity for sacrifice was not regarded by the Law as having its origin in the desires or the appetites of the Deity; but rather in the deficiencies and the unworthiness of man. It was not that God needed a bribe, but that man needed a ransom. The underlying assumption was that, unless something was done to atone for the estrangement resulting from sin which the law revealed, man could hold no communion with God at all. Sin was an impassable barrier which shut man off from God; and until that barrier could be removed estrangement must of necessity result. The objective, therefore, of the sacrifice was not the gratifying of the Deity, but the removal of this barrier. So long as this remained unobscured, it could not matter so very much whether the worshipper took a somewhat anthropomorphic or a purely spiritual view of the Godhead. If the sacrifice led the offerer to repentance and a change of life, by impressing upon him the heinousness of sin, which called for such devotion of life and such consecration of property, it could not be of such very serious moment whether he regarded the offering as one that for ~~sensuous reasons~~, in addition to its

moral significance, commended itself to the Divine notice. The danger was, of course, lest he should allow the former consideration to override the latter; and we find that this was what he not unfrequently did, and for which he had constantly to be rebuked. Prophets had to be sent to remind him that Jehovah was not a God who ate bull's flesh, or drank the blood of goats; but One who had instituted sacrifice with a view to the emancipation of man from serfdom to sin. 'Wash you, make you clean, put away the evil of your doings.'

The exigencies of this work do not demand that we should enter into a detailed consideration of the sacrifices ordered by the Law of Moses; yet we shall have to consider them at some length in their more general aspect, whilst it will probably be found necessary, in order to a clear understanding of the matter, that we should refer to some of the directions contained in the Mosaic Law by way of illustration. It is usual to consider the Israelitish system under three main heads, and to regard sacrifices as either *Propitiatory*, *Self-dedictory*, or *Eucharistical*.¹ But this division is unequal, and not very informing.² The second of these is practically contained in and forms an essential part of the first; and it is impossible to consider it intelligently other than as being so contained. A better arrangement would be, we think, a division under two heads; and a consideration of these sacrifices as (1) *Conciliatory*, or (2) *Eucharistical*, including under the first heading all that is contained in, or naturally and immediately arises out of, effected reconciliation.

We must always consider the teaching of the levitical portion of the five Books of Moses in direct connection with the antecedent historical books, and more particularly with the

¹ Dr. Barry in Smith's 'Bible Dictionary.'

² The idea of self-dedication is surely contained in that of conciliation. We do not ourselves care about the word self-dedication. It is clumsy, and too indefinite. Still it is, of course, theologically correct to use it if by its use is meant the presentation of ourselves, soul and body, as a reasonable service and an acceptable offering to God. But such presentation is of the very essence of conciliation; and it is practically impossible to dissociate the thought of such presentation from the thought of effected conciliation—any more, for instance, than you can dissociate the idea of convexity from that of concavity—the one thing carries the other, and is, in fact, only the other side of the same truth. Conciliation has no meaning at all apart from that return of man to loyalty and obedience, which is, of course, all that such presentation implies. The giving of thanks is a separate idea, and is, therefore, rightly separately considered.

opening allegories. Men in the aggregate are considered as rebels against God ; and, being rebels, as estranged from Him, and subject to travail, contradiction one from another, and death. This is made quite clear in the opening chapters of Genesis. The seed of Abraham is chosen not because it is regarded as non-rebellious, but as possessing qualities above every other race of rebels capable of being turned to account by God in effecting eventually the reconciliation with all men, which He so ardently desires. To them, therefore, the revelation and exposition of the Divine will is made ; but made, be it always remembered, to them as standing in fact on precisely the same footing of rebellion as the rest of the world. They are none the less rebels because God elected to treat with them first on behalf of rebellious humanity with a view to ultimate reconciliation. The system of sacrifice then assumes as a fundamental position this normal state of rebellious estrangement, and seeks to provide for a return on the part of man to a state of loyalty and obedience. The order of progression, therefore, from disloyalty to acceptable homage is duly allowed for and faithfully represented in the Israelitish sacrificial system.¹

¹ The sacrifices may be thus arranged :

I. CONCILIATORY.

i. *Public and Common.*

- (a) Annual : The burnt offerings on the Day of Atonement, Great Festivals, and Feast of Trumpets.
- (b) Monthly : Burnt offerings at New Moon.
- (c) Weekly : Extra Sabbath burnt offerings.
- (d) Daily : Burnt offerings (morning and evening).

ii. *Private and Individual.*

All private sin and trespass offerings.

II. EUCHARISTICAL.

i. *Public and Common.*

- (a) Annual : The meal and peace offerings at the Great Festivals and Feast of Trumpets.
- (b) Monthly : Meal offerings at the New Moon.
- (c) Weekly : Shewbread and extra Sabbath meal offerings.
- (d) Daily : Meal and drink offerings at the daily burnt sacrifices.

ii. *Private and Individual.*

All private meal and peace offerings.

Incense was offered, with some exceptions, in connection with both kinds of sacrifice ; and in each it served to express the Godward side of the service. The sacrifice, whether of a Conciliatory or Eucharistical character, was thus displayed as ascending and penetrating into heaven where God

I. The chief *Conciliatory* services of the Israelites were (1) the great annual sacrifice on the Day of Atonement with its accompanying 'memorial' of incense on the altar of gold, and (2) the daily morning and evening burnt sacrifices with similar 'memorials.' The death of the victim in these, as in all sin offerings, expressed in type the obedience of the offerer—an obedience even unto death; and it contained further an acknowledgment of the justice and righteousness of God in allotting suffering and death as the award of rebellion. It was, in effect, a symbolical expression of the same confession that the antitype Jesus Christ made by His voluntary submission on behalf of man to a life of suffering and a painful death, which paved the way for man's return to obedience and consequent acceptance. This acknowledgment having been thus suitably made—made, that is, in the only way in which it could be instructively expressed, and reconciliation having been thereby effected, or, at any rate, effectively foreshadowed and fore-declared as a thing provided for in the Divine counsel and one day to be actually consummated—the offerer now presumed to approach closer to the throne in order to proffer himself as an oblation of sweet and acceptable savour. The incense 'memorial' always followed, never preceded, the bloody sacrifice, and was kindled, moreover, by coals taken from the altar on which the death had been expressed and pre-figured. The homage of the rebel desiring to return to allegiance is proffered as worthy of acceptance only after the acknowledgment of the Divine justice has been expressed.

In the case of *private* sin and trespass offerings the 'memorial' is not made with incense. And it may, we think, be worthy of remark, in passing, that provision for such expression of acceptable citizenship and return to loyalty is only fully made for men in social combination. In returning to the Father as acceptable sons and subjects, they return as a body rather than as individuals: the offering of sweet savour, the incense 'memorial' is from the Church *quâ* Church, rather than from the man *quâ* individual. It will be seen, then, that regarded

dwelt, and as possessing, when rightly offered, qualities agreeable and pleasing to Him. In the *Conciliatory* series it signified the return of the estranged rebel to a life of acceptable and reasonable service; in the *Eucharistical* it expressed the entirely agreeable character of every utterance to God of the renewed life—that, whether the offerer ate or drank, or whatever he did, he did all to the glory of God.

in this way the sacrifices of the Israelites, so far as they provided for the reconciliation, contained also the idea of the self-dedication of the worshipper. So, then, the *Conciliatory* series of sacrifices symbolized the return of the rebel to faithful allegiance; they were declarations of renewed homage on the part of man, and of gracious forgiveness on the part of God; they were expressions of perfect submission by the offerers to the justice of the Divine sentence, and of utter willingness on their part to endure the punitive consequences of rebellion; and they were the consequent proffering of the whole man chastened and subdued as an offering well pleasing and acceptable to God.¹

II. The other class of sacrifices were *Eucharistical* in character, and secondary in order. We say in *order* rather than in rank, because it would be presumptuous to discriminate for God as to the measure of importance attached by Him to services, all of which are so accurately and so carefully prescribed. In *order* they must necessarily follow the *Conciliatory* series; for the return to loyal service being effected by means of the class of sacrifice which we have thus far dealt with, provision is hereby made for the consecration and sanctification of the whole renewed life by continuous oblation to Him who is the Source of all spiritual and temporal good. The *Eucharistical* sacrifices contained an expression of the exalted character of the redeemed life. They lifted the worshipper up above the vulgarity of a superstition which would make religion a matter of self-interest merely; they impressed him with a feeling that his services as a friend and subject of the King implied something higher than a sordid scramble

¹ The slaughter of the sacrificial victims under the law in the centuries antecedent to the great act of obedience (culminating in death) of the Man Christ Jesus, was necessary as the only method by which the need of such devotion, even unto death, could be expressed in act. And it should be noted that all *essentials* and *principles* of religion which are subject matter of revelation are expressed in act in preference to being defined in speech or writing. In all that is fundamental and of the gravest significance God instructs the world by means of object lessons. Christians look back to the great fact of the one efficient sacrifice of the Saviour. It expresses all they need to know: and the moment the need of such utter devotion on the part of man was so effectively expressed by Christ, the cruel necessity for the slaughter of the typical beasts of sacrifice vanished. Their slaughter never would have been ordered at all but for the fact that there was absolutely no other way in which the need of such devotion could be so effectively and impressively declared.

for good things. They contained an expression of the idea that everything must be used with conscious reference to its source. And this being so, it is instructive to note that the private *Eucharistical* meal offerings of the flour and oil were proffered with incense as being expressive of their high worth and acceptable character as offerings of a super-excellent savour, and possibly as ranking in value in the Divine estimation with those other sacrifices to which a similar dignity is attached. Anyhow, it is worth noticing that private *Eucharistical* meal offerings are accorded a distinction in this respect which is denied to the private oblations for trespass and for sin.

So much, then, for the general character of the Israelitish sacrifices. But in order that we may obtain a clear conception of the *method* of offering such sacrifices we must distinguish again. There is no need to enumerate all the details of these various sacrifices. It will be sufficient to state summarily that both the *Conciliatory* and *Eucharistical* alike consist of two distinct and easily distinguishable acts. There was first the symbolical act itself, and, secondly, the bringing of that symbolical act, performed in accordance with the Divine instructions, to the notice of God. The first part was the *sacrifice* proper; the second the *memorial* of the sacrifice. And here we come to the point at which the Israelitish sacrifices are so full of instructive meaning for the members of the Christian Church. The sacrifice proper—the slaughter of the beasts, the burning of the sin oblation, the gift to the priest of the meal offering of flour and oil—has been abolished. The Antitype has been revealed, and in the submission of the Saviour to suffering and death the perfect reconciliation has been effected, the return to obedience made possible, the confession accepted, forgiveness extended: in the oblation of His whole life, and the consecration of His every act—His meat and drink being to do the will of His Father in heaven—the perfect offering has been made on behalf of man. There is no need of repetition. To repeat, indeed, would be to mislead. But so long as the world stands, and men and women are what they are, the need for the second part of the sacrificial service—the *memorial*—will stand; and so long as it stands witness to the nobility of our manhood, to its dignity and value in the eyes of God, and to the exalted character of all right religious aim. Yes, the *memorial* remains, and in the

Eucharist of the Christian Church we have the means provided by God Himself whereby we may express the fact of, and our gratitude for, the reconciliation effected by Christ, and proffer ourselves, our souls and bodies, as a great thank-offering to Him who sustains our life in the present, and who has provided for the eternal acceptance of our faithful service in the ranks of the loyal and triumphant Church of the New Jerusalem.

CHAPTER VIII

THE MEMORIALS OF THE SACRIFICES

At the end of the last chapter we dwelt upon the importance of distinguishing in the case of the Israelitish sacrifices between the sacrifice proper and what was known, and is described in the books of the Law, as the 'memorial' of the sacrifice. In view of the importance of such distinction as throwing much light upon the Christian Eucharist, it is necessary that we should go somewhat more fully into the matter. We have explained in a footnote on p. 103 that incense was directed to be used with a view to expressing the Godward aspect of the various kinds of sacrificial service. The sacrifice proper expressed on man's behalf the need for the performance of some definite act or acts (of which itself was a type and foreshadowing) by means of which reconciliation with God might be brought about, and the whole of human life exalted. The 'memorial' symbolized the proffer of this act or of these acts to God as offerings, and their acceptance by Him as representing corresponding actions or states of being on the part of the offerer which, when fully achieved, would render him entirely pleasing and grateful to Himself. We now desire to show how this distinction of the 'memorial' from the sacrifice proper is supported by the testimony of the Old Testament Scriptures.

It is unnecessary that we should in this part of the argument discriminate between the conciliatory and the Eucharistical sacrifices, because the 'memorial' was made in connection with both. It will be simpler if we consider the testimony in the order most likely to contribute to lucidity in statement.

We have already briefly alluded to the fact that the daily offering of the incense on the golden altar in tabernacle and

temple was regarded, and was accustomed to be spoken of, as the 'making of the memorial.' It stood, in fact, for the 'memorial' of both the daily burnt offerings and meal offerings sacrificed morning and evening upon the great brazen altar of sacrifice. It is, therefore, to a consideration of the phrase 'making of the memorial' as commonly employed to denote this part of the daily public sacrificial services that we would first of all call attention.

The Hiphil of the verb **זָכַר** seems to have acquired an appropriated use of meaning in its continuous employment with respect to this feature of the Hebrew worship. It is important to notice that, because its recognition tends to throw light on one or two passages in the Old Testament Scriptures which have not hitherto been clearly understood.

It will have been probably observed that in Isa. lxvi. 3 a careful discrimination is shown by the writer in the words chosen by him to describe the different kinds of sacrifice. In the Authorized Version the passage reads thus: 'He that killeth an ox (**שָׁחַט הַשּׂוֹר**) is as if he slew a man; he that sacrificeth a lamb (**זָבַח הַשֶּׁה**) as if he cut off a dog's neck; he that offereth an oblation (**מִנְחָה מִנְחָה**) as if he offered swine's blood; he that burneth incense (**מִזְבִּיר לְבָנָה**) as if he blessed an idol.' Here, then, we have a summary of the various kinds of Hebrew sacrifices; and it is instructive to notice how, in each case, the prophet has chosen the exact word which, in respect of each, had acquired an almost appropriated use. **שָׁחַט** and **זָבַח**, for instance, have just such a use with reference to the slaughter of animals in the bloody sacrifices; **מִנְחָה**, here translated 'oblation,' is commonly used to denote the meal offerings; and, similarly, **מִזְבִּיר** is used because it was habitually employed to denote the 'memorial' which was made daily on the altar of gold. For our present purpose it is not necessary to explain the meaning of this passage as a whole. Those who are curious will find the various theories advanced by different expositors duly set forth in the commentaries of Delitzsch and others. Whatever be its application, it is evident that the list is carefully drawn, and is intended to comprise all the leading features of Jewish sacrificial service—the bloody sacrifices, the meal offerings, and the incense 'memorials.' We will disregard the words used to denote the animal sacrifices and meal offerings; but in respect to

the word מִזְבֵּיִר it is needful that we should have something more to say. We have said that this word is the Hiphil participle of זָכַר, and that in this voice it is used with an almost technical meaning to indicate the daily oblation of the incense. In this passage it is used along with the noun לִבְנָה (incense); but such special direction of meaning had it acquired in current phraseology in the days of the Hebrew Kings that it was sometimes employed even without this explanatory addition. In fact, it acquired exactly the same sort of particular application to the incense offering as the word 'celebrate' in our days with reference to Holy Communion. No one at the present time would be misunderstood if he employed the words 'celebrate' and 'celebration' to describe an act of Christian worship, even although he did not add the qualifying and explaining addition 'of Holy Communion.' We should know at once what a priest meant if he gave notice of an intention 'to celebrate,' or if he told us that in such a place and at such a time he proposed to hold a 'celebration.' Now, in 1 Chron. xvi. 4, the infinitive of the Hiphil לְהִזְכִּיר is used by the historian and translated in the Authorized Version 'to record,' and in the Revised Version 'to celebrate.' The verse reads thus: 'And he (David) appointed certain of the Levites to minister before the Ark of the Lord, and to record' (Revised Version 'to celebrate'), 'and to thank and praise the Lord God of Israel.'

As thus translated the passage is obscure, and it casts its obscurity not only over the whole of this chapter but over the whole historical record of the reign of the greatest of the Hebrew Kings. It ought, as the passage in Isaiah indicates, to be translated '*to make the "memorial,"*' and the reference, of course, is to the duty of making the daily oblation of the incense on the golden altar. And it is most important that we should observe this; for during the whole of David's reign this was the only sacrificial or quasi-sacrificial service which was carried on in the capital of his kingdom. The subject is one of so much interest and importance, and has such a direct bearing upon the matter in hand, that we may be forgiven if we enter into a somewhat more lengthy explanation than would be necessary if the history of that time were more clearly known.

The fact is that during the whole of David's reign, or, rather,

during the whole of that part of it which was subsequent to his bringing the ark to Jerusalem, and the re-establishment of national worship (which, after his firm settlement upon the throne, was his first concern), the system of worship in Israel was a dual one. There were two centres of national worship : one at Gibeon, the other at Jerusalem. At Gibeon was the great brazen altar of burnt offering with the Laver, surrounded, of course, and screened from profane gaze by the outer enclosure of canvas curtains supported by brass rods. But the ark with its dwelling-place, the Holy of Holies, and, of course, the Holy Place—in fact, the whole of the tabernacle proper (for it was so constructed that it would be impossible to divide it)—*was at Jerusalem* ; and, although no direct mention is made of the fact, the inference is certain that the furniture of the Holy Place—namely, the table of shewbread and the golden altar of incense—would be carried with the ark and the tabernacle to the resting-place which David had assigned to it in the capital.

It seems strange, and almost unaccountable, that the King should have elected to divide a system of worship which was obviously never intended for division, more particularly as such division must have caused very great inconvenience. It is, however, no part of our present business to inquire into David's reason for so acting. That he did so is clear from the plain statement of the narrative. It will be remembered that Solomon, at the very commencement of his reign, and consequently before the building of the temple which was his chief glory, when he wished to offer sacrifice had to betake himself to Gibeon, because the altar of burnt offering was still there ; and it was at that place, and not at Jerusalem, that he offered the prodigious holocaust of which mention is made in 1 Kings iii. 4.

David, then in the eighth year of his reign, removed to Jerusalem the Tabernacle and its contents. There was the Holy of Holies with the Ark ; and there, too, the Holy Place with the Golden Altar and the Table of Shewbread. The Brazen altar of Burnt Offering with the Laver, and the enclosing outer screen were at Gibeon. It would have been impossible for him to have carried such cumbrous furniture in the imposing procession which he organized ; and it is probable that at that busy period of his career, David would have had no more time to devote to the matter than sufficed for the trans-

ference of that which was portable, or for the providing of more accommodation than the things which he transported demanded. The arrangements which he made for the carrying on of the service at each place were at once summary and complete. In 1 Chron. xvi. it will be seen what the nature of his arrangements was. Each centre had its own college of priests and Levites, its own choir, and its own orchestra. Leaders were appointed to each, whose business it was to superintend the worship, and to see that it was duly rendered in all its prescribed details. At Jerusalem (verse 4) Asaph and his subordinate priests with the Levitical choir and orchestra had 'to minister before the Ark of the Lord, and to *make the memorial* (לְהַזְכִּיר) and to thank and praise the Lord God of Irsael;' whilst at Gibeon (verse 40) Zadok and his subordinates had 'to offer burnt offerings unto the Lord upon the altar of Burnt Offering.'

With the duties of these latter we have no present concern; but it is necessary that we should take note of the word used to define the principal service of those appointed by the King to minister at Jerusalem. This service was as we have pointed out (לְהַזְכִּיר), 'to make the memorial'; and there can be no doubt whatever but that this word is used in exactly the same sense as in Isaiah, to denote the daily morning and evening burning of the incense which it was customary to offer upon the Golden Altar before the Ark. In fact, the word which our English versions vaguely render 'to record' and 'to celebrate' is literally 'to make the memorial'; and it is because it had acquired such technical direction of meaning as to be used with reference to such service without the addition, as in Isaiah, of the word לְבַנָּה (just as we are now accustomed to use the words 'celebrate' and 'celebration' without the limiting and defining words of Holy Communion), that the Revisers¹ of our English Bible were unable to perceive its exact bearing and application.²

¹ It is remarkable that the revisers should have chosen the word 'celebrate' as the English equivalent. In a sense, of course, the incense offering was a 'celebration,' and the context, moreover, makes it evident that it was a 'choral celebration.'

² The translators of the Septuagint version and of the Vulgate failed equally to perceive the significance of the use of this Hebrew phrase, לְהַזְכִּיר, in 1 Chron. xvi. 4. The LXX. has ἀναφωνούντας καὶ ἐξομολογείσθαι καὶ αὐνεῖν. The Vulgate has 'et recordarentur operum ejus, et glorificarent atque laudarent.'

The seventh verse of the same chapter tells us of a certain Psalm (cv.) that David wrote on this occasion, and gave to Asaph to deliver to the choir for performance in the service for the day. It illustrates what must have been a not uncommon practice of his, and serves to explain the meaning of the titles to Psalm xxxviii. and Psalm lxx., both of which are said to be לְהִזְכִּיר translated in our English version, 'to call to remembrance.' As applied to these particular Psalms the description is meaningless. There is no reason whatever why these, more than any other of the Psalms in the Psalter, should be described as specially adapted for this purpose; nor was the title so prefixed intended to have any reference to the character of their contents. It is, in each case, a simple liturgical direction, denoting that the composition was delivered for use at the time of the daily 'memorial' of the incense, and should be translated 'for the memorial.'

We said just now that the dual system of national worship must have been attended with great inconvenience; and this, of course, is sufficiently evident from the nature of the case. But inconvenience was the least of the unfortunate results of such dislocation. It upset temporarily the teaching significance of the sacrificial system prescribed by the Law, which, in order to its intelligent appreciation, requires to be considered as one connected whole. In David's time the public sacrifices were proffered at one spot, whilst the 'memorial' of them was celebrated some eight or nine miles away at another. It was obviously impossible during that period to kindle the incense with the embers of the sacrifice. Yet such severance of the parts of this system viewed as a historical episode in the remote past when all possible danger of being misled into theological error by the practice of the various rites in separation is past, and when in thought we can join the severed parts in one, is not without its instructive meaning for the Church in the present; for it enables us to perceive more clearly than we should have done, had such dislocation not taken place, the distinction between the two parts of the service which it is the design of this chapter to emphasize. It enables us to perceive the possibility of viewing the 'memorial' as an act of worship complete in itself; though, of course, it is necessary to connect it, at least in thought, with the sacrifices commemorated, in order to obtain a clear perception of the theological principles upon which the complete sacrificial

system was based. The series of *public* sacrificial services performed twice daily in the Tabernacle and Temple were one complete and interdependent whole, containing all the essential elements of which we spoke in the last chapter. There was conciliation by perfectly renewed obedience expressed in the death and burning of the animal; there was the Eucharistical act typifying the consecration of the renewed life in the proffer of the flour and oil; and there was presentation of both these acts of devotion to God in the 'memorial' on the Altar of Incense as spiritual gifts of a sweet and acceptable savour.

With respect to the *private* sacrifices and offerings for which provision is made in the law, the same distinction of the parts of sacrifice is observed as we have noted in the case of the public services. Every such sacrifice had its 'memorial'—that is to say, its own special method of being presented to the notice and favour of God. It, also, consisted of the sacrifice proper, and the 'memorial' of the sacrifice. Let us consider a few examples:

In Lev. ii. 1, 2, the following directions are given respecting the private meal offerings: 'And when any will offer a meal offering unto the Lord, his offering shall be of fine flour; and he shall pour oil upon it, and put frankincense thereon: and he shall bring it to Aaron's sons the priests: and he shall take thereout his handful of the flour thereof, and of the oil thereof, with all the frankincense thereof; and the priests shall burn the memorial (זִכְרֹתָהּ) of it upon the altar, to be an offering made by fire, of a sweet savour unto the Lord.' Again, in the ninth verse: 'And the priest shall take from the meal offering a memorial (זִכְרֹתָהּ) thereof, and shall burn it upon the altar.' And in the sixteenth verse: 'And the priests shall burn the memorial (זִכְרֹתָהּ) of it, part of the beaten corn thereof, and part of the oil thereof, with all the frankincense thereof: it is an offering made by fire unto the Lord.' Again, in Lev. v. 11, 12, directions are given respecting the trespass offerings of the poor: 'He that hath sinned shall bring for his offering the tenth part of an ephah of fine flour for a sin offering; he shall put no oil upon it, neither shall he put any frankincense thereon: for it is a sin offering. Then shall he bring it to the priest, and the priest shall take his handful of it, even the memorial (זִכְרֹתָהּ) thereof, and burn it on the altar according to the offerings made by fire unto the Lord: it is a sin offering.' And in the case of the jealousy offering, Num. v. 15:

‘The man shall bring his wife unto the priest, and shall bring her offering for her, the tenth part of an ephah of barley meal; he shall pour no oil upon it, nor put frankincense thereon; for it is an offering of jealousy, an offering of memorial (זָכָרֹן), bringing iniquity to remembrance.’ In this verse the word translated ‘memorial’ differs in form from that used in the passage quoted above; but in the twenty-sixth verse of the same chapter, in reference to the same offering, we have the same Hebrew word which is used in Lev. ii.: ‘And the priest shall take an handful of the offering, even the memorial (זִכְרֹתָהּ) thereof, and burn it upon the altar.’ It will be seen by comparing these two verses (the fifteenth and twenty-sixth) that the form זָכָרֹן was sometimes used as well as the more usual זִכְרֹתָהּ to denote that aspect of the service in which the offering was viewed as presented to God.

In the case of burnt and peace offerings, which involved the slaughter of animals, the memorial was made in a different manner, though the underlying principle remains entirely the same (Num. x. 10), ‘Ye shall blow with the trumpets over your burnt offerings, and over the sacrifices of your peace offerings: that they may be to you for a memorial (זָכָרֹן) before your God’ (cf. also Lev. xxiii. 24). There is no need to consider here why it was that in these cases the attention of God was called by means of sound rather than by means of scent. It was, at any rate, the method prescribed in the law, by means of which the offerer solicited acceptance for his act of devotion just performed, and on the ground of which he presumed to enter into communion with God.

The only class of sacrifices respecting which we are unable to trace any special directions with regard to the memorializing of the Deity are the private sin offerings when they took the form of animal sacrifice. But arguing from the analogous case of the meal offerings for sin prescribed for the poor, to which reference has already been made, it may very well be that the nature of the service itself (an offering for definite acts of sin) demanded special reticence in the manner of approach to God. It will be remembered that in the case of this substituted meal offering, the burning of frankincense for the ‘memorial’ was forbidden. In the same way, in these animal sacrifices the burning of the kidneys and the fat¹ on the altar

¹ The rest of the animal was carried without the camp and burned there.

was made to suffice without the added incense, and without the sound of the silver trumpets.

We think we may now claim to have shown by ample quotation that in the sacrificial system of the Old Covenant, in all classes of sacrifice, public and private, the service consisted of two parts, and was regarded in two distinct aspects. We defined these as (1) the sacrifice proper, and (2) the memorial of the sacrifice, and we hope that the testimony afforded by the quotations given will be considered to establish this point with clearness.

There was one other service of a quasi-sacrificial character in which the same distinction is observed; and it is necessary for a particular reason, which will appear in the next chapter, that we should call attention to it here. In Lev. xxiv. 7 directions are given as to the manner in which the weekly offering of the shewbread is to be made. 'Thou shalt put pure frankincense upon each row, that it may be to the bread for a memorial (זִכָּרֹה), even an offering made by fire unto the Lord.'

It is unnecessary to labour the point further. It must be evident to every unprejudiced student of Old Testament Scripture that the plain directions given in the books of the Law, as well as the interesting circumstantial testimony afforded by the prophet, the historian, and the psalmist, all go to establish the fact that every sacrifice had its 'memorial,' and that this 'memorial' was the prescribed method by which the offerer presented the sacrifice he had just made to the notice of God, and from the sweet savour of which he was intended to infer that his offering was of a nature acceptable and well pleasing to Him. So long as the Temple stood, so long as sacrifices continued to be offered, throughout the whole period of Jewish history down to, including, and for some time after, the sojourning of Jesus Christ on earth, the meaning of these 'memorials,' and the constant presentation of them by the priests on the altars of burnt offering and incense, would be as familiar to an Israelite as a celebration of Holy Communion is to us. The words זִכָּרֹה (or זִכָּרָה) and זִבְחֵי, and the phrase לְהִזְכִּיר, with this special application to the 'memorials' of the sacrifices, would be amongst those most commonly employed in the Hebrew language; and the use of them could not possibly be misunderstood by those amongst whom they were in such common circulation.

We must leave to another chapter the discussion of the bearing of all this upon the 'memorial' of the Sacrifice of the Lamb of God, which is made by the Catholic Church in the Holy Eucharist. It may, however, be as well that we should repeat once more the theological principle which underlies both the sacrifice and its memorial; because, unless we keep this constantly before us, we shall fail to perceive the similarity of the Divine intention both under the Old and New Covenants, and the magnificent unity of God's purpose in the Church from the time of Abraham, and even (in a sense) of the Creation itself, to the present day. That purpose was—and it cannot be too often or too strongly insisted upon—the return of man, the wilful rebel, to a state of willing obedience; but a return which, in its effecting, provides for the vindication of righteousness by the willing endurance of the sentence even unto death. For the fulfilment of this purpose there must be an active recognition on the part of the returning rebel of the utter necessity for such endurance. It was this necessity that the devotion of the animal life was designed to forcibly express. For it was, in fact, a foreshadowing of the effectual sacrifice of the Lamb of God, who should take away the sin of the world. It was, of course, from the Antitype alone that the worshipper, who of old so expressed his need and proffered his willing submission, could derive the new nature and new powers of spiritual perception, which would eventually enable him to understand that necessity to its completest and atoning extent. The blood of bulls and goats could not take away sin; but the shedding of it in death could express, when rightly viewed, the devotion of the worshipper and the confession of his sin. It could prefigure moreover, the purpose of God in Christ Jesus, through whom alone, by virtue of a life miraculously imparted by Him, and the knowledge which is a part of that life, that confession could be adequately made. In the sacrifices themselves the worshipper performed his act of obedience and confession. In the 'memorials' of the sacrifices the worshipper proffered himself forgiven, obedient, transformed, an acceptable offering to the King, to whose loyal and active service his being was henceforth to be devoted.

So, then, in the Jewish sacrifices no less than in the Christian Sacraments, no provision is made and no directions are given which would lead us to infer that 'propitiation,' as it is usually explained, was any part of the Divine intention in their institu-

tion, whilst there is everything to show that they were intended to assist the worshipper to free himself from sin, because sin separated him from God. They point to, and pave the way for, reconciliation ; but it is a reconciliation effected not by bribing the Deity with roast and baked meats, nor by fumigating Him with smouldering spices, nor by placating His stern justice by prefiguring the perpetration of a legal injustice in the substitution of an innocent man for guilty men, as the recipient of the outpouring of the vials of Divine wrath. In the Old Testament no less than in the New, God is represented as the gracious Father, patient, long-suffering, forgiving, and tender, loving men with an everlasting love, striving to win them to Himself by His faithful and sure mercies, and never satisfied until they return once more to that state of obedient sonship and intimate fellowship from which their sin caused that they should be ejected.

CHAPTER IX

THE MEMORIAL OF *THE* SACRIFICE

WE have now seen that under the Law the sacrifices were viewed in a double aspect. There was first of all the votive act; and secondly there was the 'memorial' act, as it was called, by which the devotion of the worshipper was represented to God. The sacrifices of the Old Covenant were types of the one effectual Sacrifice which, as the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews says, they foreshadowed. Arguing, therefore, from the analogy of the types, we should expect to find, in connection with the system of worship prescribed under the New Covenant, that which corresponded with the 'memorial' of the sacrifices, as well as that great act of sacrifice on the Cross, which corresponded to the death of the bulls and goats. The necessity for the slaughter of animals in sacrifice has been done away. They are no longer required to express to men and on men's behalf the necessity for such an obedience as nothing but death could effectually or strikingly express. Christ has come, and has suffered in the eyes of the world: He has been evidently set forth, crucified amongst us. To repeat the immolation, even figuratively, would only have the effect of weakening our conception and apprehension of the one tremendous act, which we must ever regard as the measure of the confession and obedience which God now requires from us.

But the necessity for the continuous expression of our voluntary return to God as reconciled men and women, and for the continuous proffer of ourselves, reconciled by the sacrifice, in body and soul as an acceptable offering of a sweet savour, still remains, and will continue to remain until the end of the world—'till He come,' in fact, as St. Paul expresses it.

And, therefore, we should certainly expect to find under the Christian dispensation provision made for a 'memorial' of the sacrifice of Christ, which should correspond in meaning and purpose with the 'memorials' proffered under the Law.

That is what we should expect, and that is exactly what we find. That was the purpose of the Christian Eucharist as declared by the Saviour at its institution, and as further emphasized in the special revelation vouchsafed to the great Apostle to the Gentiles.

The words in which this purpose was declared are preserved for us both by St. Luke and St. Paul: *τοῦτο ποιείτε εἰς τὴν ἑμὴν ἀνάμνησιν*, which, as has been pointed out by Scudamore in his 'Notitia Eucharistica,' should be correctly translated 'offer this for My memorial.' The word *ἀνάμνησις* is here employed in a special sense to denote a sacrificial 'memorial.' It has, in fact, exactly the same meaning in respect of the sacrifice of Christ upon the Cross as the Hebrew word *אֶזְכָּרָה* (*Azcarathah*) has in the Old Testament in respect of the sacrifices commanded to be offered under the Law; and so it was understood in the early centuries of the Church's history. This view of the Sacrament as primarily an oblation (*προσφορά*) of thanksgiving (*εὐχαριστία*) was the one which held the first place in the consideration of Christians in primitive times. The commonly accepted view of the sacrifice on the Cross was that by it men were reconciled to God, and that now, as effectually reconciled, they stand in a new relation to Him. It was their privilege and their prerogative as citizens in His kingdom to proffer their acceptable loyalty in the Eucharistical worship ordained by the King. It expressed at once their gratitude, their duty, and their resolve; whilst at the same time it provided them with a means of obtaining renewed strength for the spiritual service which this new relation required of them. We shall see this clearly enough when we come to consider the testimony furnished by the early liturgies, and by the references to the Eucharist contained in the writings of the Fathers of the first three centuries.

It is only in quite modern times that the Sacrament has been viewed as a simple means of stimulating the Christian's recollection of what the Saviour did for him in His Passion and Death. No doubt it always had that effect, and will continue to have that effect upon the minds of all right-feeling men and women so long as it is celebrated. But that was not the effect

contemplated by our Lord when He gave this particular direction ; nor was it the meaning attached to the words by Christians in primitive times. There are, as the last chapter in this work will show, hundreds of references to the Eucharist in the pages of the early Fathers ; but never once in any single one of them is it referred to as a simple service instituted with a view of merely assisting Christians to remember the salvation wrought by Jesus Christ in His act of sacrifice.

There would have been no difficulty in our apprehending the meaning of our Saviour's direction if the New Testament had been written in Hebrew, nor if we could only transport ourselves back to those primitive times when Greek was the language of the Church. Unfortunately, when the great revival of learning took place, which resulted in that assertion of independent thought of which the Reformation was one of the features, Greek had long been a dead language ; and it was therefore very difficult to allot the exact shade of meaning which attached in use to any particular Greek word at any special period during which the language was a living one. In translating the New Testament that difficulty was a very real one. There is no doubt whatever but that multitudes of words in later Greek times, and amongst Hellenist Jews in particular, had acquired special meanings and applications, for the elucidation of which references to earlier classical literature are of very small service. It would not be difficult to make out a long list of such words. But, indeed, it is not necessary to do so, because every student is so well aware of the fact that no argument in proof of it is required.

The word *ἀνάμνησις* is one of these words. There is no doubt, from the evidence of those passages in Jewish-Greek literature which illustrate the use of this word, that it had come to have the same meaning as *μνημόσυνον*, and that in the time of our Lord it was probably considered as a proper equivalent of *אִזְכָּרָה*.

It is, then, our purpose in the present chapter to show that such an interpretation is supported by its use in the Septuagint version of the Old Testament Scriptures, and in other Jewish-Greek literature of or about the time of our Lord.

In the first place, however, it must be borne in mind that, whatever the words of this phrase mean, they were almost certainly not the words which Christ would Himself use at the Last Supper. We do not mean to say that there is no authority

from Jesus Christ for these identical Greek words ; but that upon the occasion of the Last Supper itself the words actually spoken would probably be in the Aramaic Hebrew, of which these words, given by St. Luke and St. Paul, are the Greek equivalents. St. Paul tells us that he obtained his account of the institution of the Eucharist direct from the Saviour Himself. It is idle to speculate as to the exact way in which the revelation was made to this particular Apostle, or as to the language used in the course of it. The Scriptures afford no further information in respect of such communication than that which is supplied by the passage in which St. Paul shortly, and without explanation of any sort, assumes the fact of it. There is, at any rate, no reason to contend that in this case the subject-matter of revelation was conveyed to the mind of the Apostle through the medium of Aramaic Hebrew.

St. Luke probably in the first instance received his account of the institution, and of the will of Jesus Christ respecting it, from St. Paul ; though of course he would obtain corroboration from the same eye-witnesses who supplied him with all the other information about our Lord's life, which he afterwards edited. We may take it, therefore, that the Greek words preserved to us in his Gospel, and in St. Paul's first Epistle to the Corinthians, are those which the Apostles all recognised as a fair and adequate translation of the Hebrew or Aramaic Hebrew which they had themselves heard the Master utter on the night preceding the crucifixion.

If we could only prove that the actual word spoken by our Lord to the eleven was the Hebrew word *זִכְרֹתָהּ*, there could not be the slightest doubt that He intended the Eucharist to be the 'memorial' of His own sacrifice in the sense in which the second part of the Jewish sacrificial services was 'a memorial' of the votive act which preceded it ; for the word *זִכְרֹתָהּ* is never used in any other sense. In the absence of such direct and unmistakable evidence, it becomes necessary to examine the evidence of the use of this word *ἀνάμνησις* amongst later Greek-speaking Jews very carefully, in order that we may ascertain whether or no we are justified in allotting to it the meaning, which in the earlier part of this chapter we have indicated.

We cannot here set down the New Testament passages in which the form *ἀνάμνησις* occurs as illustrating its use in the sense of 'memorial,' because it only occurs once in addition to

the places where it is employed with direct reference to the Eucharist, and that one reference (Heb. x. 3) will require to be specially dealt with. But in the LXX. version of the Old Testament it occurs twice, and in the Apocrypha once,¹ and in every case it must be translated 'memorial.'

The first case in which it occurs is in Lev. xxiv. 7, where the LXX. reads: καὶ ἐπιθήσετε ἐπὶ τὸ θέμα λίβανον καθαρὸν καὶ ἄλα, καὶ ἔσονται οἱ ἄρτοι εἰς ἀνάμνησιν προκείμενοι τῷ κυρίῳ. The meaning differs slightly from the Hebrew, which makes the frankincense burnt over the shewbread to be the 'memorial.' The English versions here are more correct than the LXX., 'that it (*i.e.*, the incense) may be on the bread for a memorial,' etc. (וְהִיְתָה לְלֶחֶם לְזִכָּרָה). But whether, as in the Hebrew and English, it is the incense, or whether, as in the LXX., it is the loaves themselves which are for the ἀνάμνησις, it is quite clear that the word here must mean 'memorial,' and cannot mean 'remembrance.' In any case, the words which follow (προκείμενοι τῷ κυρίῳ) define the interpretation, and limit it to the sense of an offering presented to God. It will be noticed also that it is given as an equivalent for זִכָּרָה, which is only another form of the more usual זִכְרוֹן, of which we have spoken so much.

The other passage is Num. x. 10: σαλπικίετε ταῖς σάλπιγξιν ἐπὶ τοῖς ὀλοκαυτώμασι καὶ ἐπὶ ταῖς θυσίαις τῶν σωτηριῶν ὑμῶν καὶ ἔσται ὑμῖν ἀνάμνησιν ἔναντι τοῦ Θεοῦ ὑμῶν. Here the trumpets sounded over the sacrifices are declared to be for an ἀνάμνησις. In this case the LXX. coincides exactly with the Hebrew, which has וְהָיוּ לָכֶם זִכָּרוֹן. Here, again, the defining words ἔναντι τοῦ Θεοῦ ὑμῶν exclude any other interpretation than that which is given in the English text, 'that they may be to you for a "memorial" before your God.'²

In these passages, which are the only others (except Heb. x. 3, of which more directly) besides those in dispute, it is obvious that ἀνάμνησις must be translated 'memorial,' and not 'remembrance.'³ In both cases they, in fact, refer to the second or 'memorial' part of a sacrificial or quasi-sacrificial service.

¹ Cf. also Jos. Ant., 4, 8, 2.

² The passage in the Apocrypha is Wisd. of Sol. xvi. 6, where the brazen serpent preserved in the ark is said to be for a 'memorial.'

³ We are not aware that any support can be found in classical authors for the translation 'remembrance.' In all the passages we have been able

Now let us look at the passage in the Epistle to the Hebrews. The writer, it will be noticed, is contrasting the sacrifice of Jesus Christ with the Jewish sacrifices offered yearly on the Day of Atonement, and he says: 'ἐν αὐταῖς ἀνάμνησις ἁμαρτιῶν κατ' ἐνιαυτόν.' 'In these [sacrifices] there is a remembrance (A.V.) made of sins year by year.' The question is, Does ἀνάμνησις, as here used, refer to a recollecting by the Hebrews of their sins annually? or does it mean that there was an annual memorializing of God on account of sin?

It will be noticed that the emphatic words in the sentence are κατ' ἐνιαυτόν—'year by year.' The writer is contrasting the substance with the shadow; and he advances the fact of the yearly repetition of the ἀνάμνησις as an indication of its substantial inefficiency. If the sacrifices of bulls and goats and rams could in themselves take away sin, why repeat them annually for the same worshippers? The phrase ἀνάμνησις ἁμαρτιῶν is used by the writer as a concise summary of the effect of the θυσίαι. Ἐν αὐταῖς, 'in them,' there is this annual ἀνάμνησις. There is, it will be noticed, no special point in his employment of the word ἀνάμνησις in preference to any other word which he might have written had it been involuntarily suggested to his mind as he wrote. He only wished to indicate what any and every Jew would understand as the effect in the sight of God of the θυσίαι. The word flows naturally enough from his pen as a word which his Hebrew correspondents would easily understand as correctly indicating exactly what was essentially contained in these sacrifices; and the essential idea, of course, was that of a memorial offering made to God on account of sins, and acceptable to Him only as prefiguring the sacrifice of the death of Christ. In this passage we think it is clear that the word ἀνάμνησις has the meaning of sacrificial memorial: and this becomes clearer still when we balance the two arms of the writer's argument. The contrast is between the annual Jewish sacrifices and the one effectual Sacrifice on Calvary. It is the Godward aspect of the sacrifices which the writer is alone considering. Christ's sacrifice was effectual: the sacrifices on the Day of Atonement were essentially non-efficient. 'Sacrifice, and offering, and

to verify the sense is 'reminding.' As a classical friend put it, the phrase *eis τὴν ἐμὴν ἀνάμνησιν*, strictly rendered according to classical use, would mean 'to remind me of you' (lit., 'for my reminding').

burnt offerings, and offerings for sin, Thou wouldest not, neither hadst pleasure therein, which are offered by the law ; then said He, Lo, I come to do Thy will, O God. He taketh away the first that He may establish the second.' The first was taken away because 'God would not, nor had pleasure in it': the second—'the offering of the body of Jesus Christ once for all'—was established, because it alone had efficiency and acceptability with God as a sacrifice for sin. It is the Godward aspect of the sacrifice that the writer is considering, when he adduces the fact of its yearly repetition as evidence of its inability in itself to satisfy the Divine requirements. No doubt the High Priest and the worshippers remembered their sins when they offered these yearly sacrifices on the Day of Atonement ; but to urge that that thought was the one uppermost in the mind of a Hebrew referring to the matter in an argument with Hebrews, and that it was the consideration which would operate in determining his selection—his involuntary selection—of a word as he wrote to summarize the main features of the sacrifice, would not only involve a charge of ineptitude as against him, but would deprive his contention of all of its point and force as an argument from the repeated sacrifice to that one Sacrifice which needs no repetition. In that case the arms of his argument do not balance. You convict him of want of ordinary perception ; you make him say in effect : 'The worshippers of old recollected their sins yearly, but Christ offered Himself to God as a sacrifice for sin once for all.' Such a method of statement would surely be absurd. It is as though one should perpetrate such a non-sequitur as, 'This paper is white ; but my watch keeps excellent time.'

If, however, we interpret the *ἀνάμνησις ἁμαρτιῶν* as indicating the 'memorial' aspect of the service, giving, in fact, to *ἀνάμνησις* the exact meaning of *אִזְכָּרָה*, it is the best of sense to say : 'The worshippers of old made a yearly memorial for sins before God, but Christ offered Himself to God once for all a perfect sacrifice.' For, as we have already said, the whole argument requires us to consider the sacrifices of old, which were essentially incomplete and inefficient, and the sacrifice of Christ, which was complete and efficient, in their Godward aspect, and in that aspect alone. So considered, it is evident, we think, that in this passage the word *ἀνάμνησις* is used in the sense of a solemn memorial service made before God on account of sins, and that it indicates an act or a series of acts

by means of which the worshippers 'put God in remembrance with a view to receiving His mercy. That, in point of fact, the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews, by the use of the word, was contemplating, as all Hebrews were educated to contemplate, the Jewish sacrifices in the same way in which God Himself regarded them when by the mouth of the prophet Isaiah He reproved His people for their slackness in offering them. 'Thou hast not brought Me the small cattle of thy burnt offerings, neither hast thou honoured Me with thy sacrifices. . . . Thou hast bought Me no sweet cane¹ with money, neither hast thou filled Me with the fat of thy sacrifices. . . . PUT ME IN REMEMBRANCE.'² In fact, when we consider the history of the word as illustrated by its use in Jewish-Greek literature at about the time of our Lord, the evidence all tends in the same direction. It is, we think, almost certain that, whatever other sense it may have in classical use, with Jewish writers of that period it is employed as synonymous with *μνημόσυνον*, and invariably indicates that objective something applied to the *μνήμη*, to excite recollection, and that it should therefore be translated 'memorial.'

We can hardly believe that the sole exceptions to this use are the passages where, as we said at the commencement of this chapter, antecedent probability pointed exactly to such an interpretation. Our own belief is that the words *εἰς τὴν ἐμῇν ἀνάμνησιν* were intended to indicate the character of the Eucharist as the means whereby Christians, reconciled by the Sacrifice, are to draw near to God in worship, and we think it is extremely likely that in instituting the rite the Saviour employed the word *הִזְכֵּרְתִּי*, as to the meaning and bearing of which no Jew could for a single moment stand in any doubt.

¹ Spices—that is, for the incense 'memorials.'

² *הִזְכֵּרְתִּי*. Cf. what has been said as to the use of the Hiphil of *זָכַר* on p. 109.

CHAPTER X

PRIMITIVE FORMS OF SERVICE

WE may now conveniently consider what the extant literature of the first three centuries has to reveal either of descriptive account or actual form of service of the Eucharist in the primitive Church.

There is nothing, let us say at once, which can be compared either to our own, to the Roman, or to the Greek liturgies of the present day. The earliest form with which these share any features of general resemblance is what is known as the Clementine Liturgy, which is preserved in the eighth book of the Apostolical Constitutions. That may or may not be a late fourth-century recension of a form of which all earlier editions are lost. We are not now concerned either to defend or to condemn it as a representative document of primitive date. Our object is not to construct evidence, but to review it. It is not, so far as we know, quoted by any writer of the first three centuries, and it is quite certain that in its extant form, at any rate, it is not of earlier date than the latter half of the fourth. There is considerable divergence of opinion as to the date of the Constitutions, but every editor of them is agreed that the eighth book is a later production than any of the preceding. They are an evident compilation, and it would need very careful and exact scholarship to analyze and allot to their respective periods the various documents which have been used by their compiler. Our concern, however, is only with what was indisputably the teaching of the Church in the ante-Nicene period of its history.

The first part (chapters i. to xxxii.) of the seventh book of the Constitutions is a later recension, very much enlarged, of the treatise which we now know as the *Didache*, or Teaching

of the Twelve Apostles. It contains what professes to be a form of liturgy which cannot be of later, and possibly not of earlier, date than the middle of the third century. Probably in that and in the corresponding form in the *Didache*,¹ as well as in the descriptions of a Eucharistic celebration given by Justin Martyr in his *Apology* and *Dialogue with Trypho*,² we have a fairly representative account of a service of the Sacrament of Holy Communion as it would be commonly known to the Church of the period to which our attention is now confined. We need not quarrel with those who think differently. There may have been earlier recensions of the liturgies of which the late fourth and early fifth centuries produced such a plentiful crop. No scholar whose opinion is of value will deny that the documents referred to above are of the early period to which they are here assigned. We shall therefore be quite justified in quoting them in support of the doctrine and principles enunciated in the preceding chapters of this book. If we refrain from quoting the Clementine Liturgy, it is not because it contains anything which is opposed to those principles, but only because we do not desire to embarrass our argument by adducing evidence about which there would sure to be variety of opinion as to its origin and date.³

The *Didache* belongs probably to the first half of the second century; the writings of Justin to the middle or earlier part of the second half of the same century; and the seventh book of the *Constitutions* to the middle of the third. Taken together, therefore, they nearly cover the whole of the period between the death of the last Apostle and the meeting of the first General Council in 325.

It is not necessary to assume, though there is ground for the assumption, that the form contained in the seventh book of the *Constitutions* was actually used in the services of the Church. The purpose of the editor of this recension may have been merely to preserve and adapt a work which he perceived to be of didactic value; and the revision and amplification of the other chapters of the *Didache* may be thought to imply, as a matter of course, the same literary treatment of the form con-

¹ Cf. *Didache*, ix. and x., with *Apostolical Constitutions*, vii. 25, 26.

² Justin, *Apology*, 65 67; *Dialogue with Trypho*, 41.

³ The same remark will apply to the account of the Eucharist given in the fifty-seventh chapter of the second book of the *Constitutions*, which is obviously a fourth-century interpolation or adaptation.

tained in the ninth and tenth. These chapters in the earlier work, however, are the two in which the closest resemblance will be found to the corresponding sections of the treatise as amplified in the Constitutions. The liturgical character, moreover, is preserved, and the changes and additions are not other than would be likely to occur in the course of a century in a form which was regularly employed in public worship. Still, there are some features in the later form which suggest doubt. As an explicit direction, for instance, the concluding rubric (if we may call it so), about the presbyters giving thanks, seems to be somewhat lacking in point. The corresponding direction in the *Didache* giving greater extempore freedom to the prophets, who were then recognised as a grade of the ministry, and honoured on account of their office, is natural enough. Of course, the permission may have been extended to the presbyters after the office of prophet had fallen into abeyance. The Church has always been conservative in its practices; and the custom of occasional extempore devotion in public worship may have lingered until the period of persecution was past—till the end of the third century, in fact. The method of the *Didache*, with its recurrent doxology, 'To Thee be glory for ever,' is more convincingly liturgical. At the same time, the arrangement of thought in the other is more systematic; while a more definite character of memorial oblation is imparted to the service by the addition of the words 'whereof we celebrate this representation as Himself appointed to show forth His death.' It is difficult to account for the insertion of such expressive liturgical language in a form which was preserved for merely didactic use.

Without endorsing the extravagant views of Whiston, who apparently thought that the Constitutions were venerated in the early Church equally with, and in some ways as more valuable than, the New Testament Scriptures, we may allow that the form given in the seventh book was possibly honoured by regular use; and we shall be the more disposed to this view when we find that there is nothing in the indirect references to the Sacrament contained in the writings of the ante-Nicene Fathers that may not be accounted for in it; and this last statement will apply equally to the form given in the *Didache*.

For convenience in reference the extracts are tabulated, the corresponding sections of the *Didache* and the Apostolical

Constitutions being arranged side by side, and the description of Justin placed opposite to both of them. It will be seen, then, that according to these the following was the order of service in the early Church :

- I. The kiss of peace.
- II. The bringing and placing of the elements.
- III. The Eucharistic preface.

In the *Didache* :¹

1. Thanksgiving for the cup.
Doxology.
2. Thanksgiving for the bread.
Doxology.

In the *Apostolical Constitutions* :

1. Quasi-Credal preface.
2. Thanksgiving for the cup and bread.
3. Memorial.
Doxology.

IV. Exclusion of catechumens and all unbaptized.

V. Communion of the faithful.²
(Suppressed in both forms.)

VI. Post-Communion thanksgiving.

In the *Didache* :

1. For the revelation of God in Christ.
Doxology.
2. For creation and the blessings of this life.
3. For spiritual food and sustenance.
4. For the power imparted through Christ.
Doxology.

¹ In both forms, curiously enough, the thanksgiving over the cup in the Prefatory thanksgiving precedes that over the bread. It will be remembered that St. Paul, in his first reference to the Eucharist (1 Cor. x. 16, 21), twice mentions the cup first : 'The cup of blessing which we bless . . . the bread which we break . . .'; and, 'Ye cannot drink the cup of the Lord . . . ye cannot be partakers of the Lord's table.' In the direction respecting Communion, as well as in the Post-Communion thanksgiving in the *Didache*, the order is reversed : 'Let none presume to *eat* or *drink*,' etc.

² This part of the service, including probably the actual consecration of the elements, is suppressed. It was customary in the Early Church to maintain strict secrecy with regard to the more sacred part of the service (Cyprian, 'Against Jews,' iii. 50; Clement Alex., 'Missc.,' v. 4, 9; Origen, 'Contra Celsum,' i. 7, iii. 59, 60).

In the *Apostolical Constitutions* :

1. For the revelation of God in Christ.
2. For creation and the blessings of this life.
3. For the promise and realization of the Incarnation.

(The last by way of preface to what follows.)

VII. Prayer for the Church Militant.

VIII. Concluding versicles and Doxology.

IX. Amen.

Both the forms so exactly correspond to Justin's description, which, be it remembered, was a general one, contained for the most part in an Apology for Christianity addressed to the Emperor, that it does seem to be likely that the above fairly represents the order of the service as it was generally conducted in the early Church.¹

¹ The suggestion that these forms apply rather to the Love Feast than to the Eucharist is so utterly preposterous that it hardly merits serious consideration. No one reading the passages and their contexts in the original without prejudice can avoid coming to the conclusion that it is the Eucharist that is referred to in each of them. Tertullian ('Apologeticus,' 39) says of the Love Feast: 'Our feast explains itself by its name. The Greeks call it *Agape*. Whatever it costs, our outlay in the name of piety is gain, since with the good things of the feast we benefit the needy; not, as it is with you, do parasites aspire to the glory of satisfying their licentious propensities, selling themselves for a belly-feast to all disgraceful treatment, but, as it is with God Himself, a peculiar respect is shown to the lowly. If the object of our feast be good, in the light of that consider its further regulations. As it is an act of religious service, it permits no vileness or immodesty. The participants, before reclining, taste first of prayer to God. As much is eaten as satisfies the cravings of hunger; as much is drunk as befits the chaste. They say it is enough, as those who remember that even during the night they have to worship God; they talk as those who know that the Lord is one of their auditors. After manual ablution, and the bringing in of lights, each is asked to stand forth and sing, as he can, a hymn to God, either one from the holy Scriptures or one of his own composing—a proof of the measure of our drinking. As the feast commenced with prayer, so with prayer it is closed. We go from it, not like troops of mischief-doers, nor bands of roamers, nor to break out into licentious acts, but to have as much care of our modesty and chastity as if we had been at a school of virtue rather than a banquet.'

ANTE-NICENE LITURGIES COMPARED.

APOSTOLICAL CONSTITUTIONS.

JUSTIN MARTYR. DIDACHE.

I. Kiss of Peace.

We salute one another with a kiss.

II. Bringing in of the Elements.

Then is brought to the President of the brethren bread, and a cup of water and wine, which he receives,

III. Eucharistic Preface. Quasi-Credal Preface (Constitutions).

Now, concerning the Eucharist, give thanks thus :

Concerning the Eucharistical Thanksgiving, say thus :

We thank Thee, our Father, for that life which Thou hast made known to us by Jesus Thy Son, By whom Thou madest all things ;

And takest care of the whole world ;

Whom Thou hast permitted to suffer and die ;

Whom Thou hast raised up and been pleased to glorify ;

JUSTIN MARTYR.

DIDACHE,

APOSTOLICAL CONSTITUTIONS.

And hast set Him down
at Thy right hand :
By whom Thou hast
promised us the resurrection
of the dead.

Prayer for Unity.

Do Thou, O Lord, almighty, everlasting God,
so gather together Thy
Church from the ends of
the earth, as this (corn)
once was scattered and is
now become one loaf.

Over the Cup.

We also, our Father,
thank Thee for the precious
blood of Jesus Christ
Thy servant which was
shed for us.

Over the Cup.

First, concerning
the cup,
We thank Thee,
our Father, for the
holy vine of David
Thy servant, which
Thou hast made
known to us through
Jesus Thy Servant.

and offers up praise
and glory to the
Father of all things,
through the name of
His Son and of the
Holy Ghost.

[NOTE.—In the *Constitutions* the Prayer for unity precedes, in the *Didache* follows, the Thanksgiving over the cup and bread.]

ANTE-NICENE LITURGIES COMPARED—*continued.*

JUSTIN MARTYR.	DIDACHE.	APOSTOLICAL CONSTITUTIONS.
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Doxology.

To Thee be glory
for ever.

Over the Bread.

And concerning
the broken bread,

We thank Thee,
our Father, for the
life and knowledge
which Thou hast
made known to us
through Jesus Thy
servant.

Over the Bread.

and for His precious body,

Memorial.

whereof we celebrate this
representation, as Himself
appointed us to show
forth His death.

Doxology.

To Thee be glory
for ever.

Doxology.

For through Him glory
is to be given to Thee for
ever. Amen.

Prayer for Unity.

Just as this broken
bread was scattered
over the hills, and
having been gathered
together became one.

ANTE-NICENE LITURGIES COMPARED—*continued.*

JUSTIN MARTYR.	DIDACHE.	APOSTOLICAL CONSTITUTIONS.
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so let Thy Church be gathered together from the ends of the earth into Thy kingdom.

Doxology.

For Thine is the glory and the power through Jesus Christ for ever.

IV. Exclusion of Catechumens and Unbaptized.

And this food is called by us the EUCCHARIST, of which no one is allowed to partake but he who believes the truth of our doctrine; and who has been washed in the laver for the forgiveness of sins, and to regeneration, and also so lives as Christ has directed.

But let none eat or drink of your Eucharist except those baptized into the Lord's name; for in regard to this the Lord hath said: Give not that which is holy to the dogs.

Let no one eat of these things that is not initiated; but only those who have been baptized into the death of the Lord.

ANTE-NICENE LITURGIES COMPARED—*continued.*

JUSTIN MARTYR.

DIDACHE.

APOSTOLICAL CONSTITUTIONS.

V. Communion of the Faithful.

We do not receive this as ordinary food; but as by the Word of God Jesus Christ our Saviour was made flesh and blood for our salvation, so also the food which was blessed by the prayer of the Word which proceeded from Him, and from whom our flesh and blood by assimilation receive nourishment, is, we are taught, both the flesh and blood of that Jesus who was made flesh. For the Apostles, in the records which they made and which are

(This part of the service is suppressed both in the Didache and the Constitutions.)

ANTE-NICENE LITURGIES COMPARED—*continued.*

JUSTIN MARTYR.

DIDACHE.

APOSTOLICAL CONSTITUTIONS.

called Gospels, have declared that Jesus commanded them to do as follows: He took bread, and gave thanks, and said, This do in remembrance of Me—THIS IS MY BODY. And in like manner He took the cup, and blessed it, and said, THIS IS MY BLOOD, and gave it to them alone.

VI. Post-Communion
Thanksgiving.

And he returns thanks at length for our being vouchsafed these things by Him.

Now, after ye are filled, do ye thus give thanks:

We thank Thee, holy Father, for Thy holy name which Thou hast caused to

After the participation give thanks in this manner:

We thank Thee, O God and Father of Jesus our Saviour, for Thy holy name which Thou hast made to inhabit among us, and that

ANTE-NICENE LITURGIES COMPARED—*continued*.

JUSTIN MARTYR.

DIDACHE.

APOSTOLICAL CONSTITUTIONS.

dwell in our hearts,
and for the know-
ledge of faith and im-
mortality which Thou
hast made known to
us through Jesus
Thy Servant.

knowledge, faith, love, and
immortality which Thou
hast given us through Thy
Son Jesus.

Doxology.

To Thee be glory
for ever.

We give thanks to
God both for His
having created the
world and all that is
therein for the sake
of man;

Thou, almighty
Master, didst create
all things for Thy
name's sake; both
food and drink Thou
didst give to men for
enjoyment, in order
that they might give
thanks to Thee;

Thou, O almighty Lord,
the God of the Universe,
hast created the world and
the things that are therein
by Him; and hast planted
a law in our souls, and
beforehand didst prepare
things for the convenience
of men. O God of our

ANTE-NICENE LITURGIES COMPARED—*continued.*

JUSTIN MARTYR.

APOSTOLICAL CONSTITUTIONS.

and for His having delivered us from the sin in which we were born; and overthrown with an utter destruction the principalities and powers of evil through Him, who was made to undergo suffering according to His will.

but to us Thou hast graciously given spiritual food and drink, and eternal life through Thy servant. Before all things, we thank Thee that Thou art powerful.

Doxology.

To Thee be glory for ever.

holy and blameless fathers Abraham and Isaac and Jacob, Thy faithful servants; Thou, O God, who art powerful, faithful, and true, and without deceit in Thy promises; who didst send upon earth Jesus Thy Christ to live with men as a man, when He was God the Word, and man, to take away error by the roots:

VII. Prayer for the Church Militant.

Remember, Lord, Thy Church, to deliver it from every evil, and to make it perfect in Thy love; and gather it from the four winds, (it) the

Do Thou even now, through Him, be mindful of this Thy holy Church, which Thou hast purchased with the precious blood of Thy Christ, and deliver it from all evil, and

ANTE-NICENE LITURGIES COMPARED—*continued*.

JUSTIN MARTYR.	DIDACHE.	APOSTOLICAL CONSTITUTIONS.
	sanctified, into Thy kingdom, which Thou hast prepared for it.	perfect it in Thy love and Thy truth, and gather us all together into Thy kingdom which Thou hast prepared.

Doxology.

For Thine is the power and the glory for ever.

Versicle.

Let grace come,
and let the world
pass away.

Let this Thy kingdom
come.

Doxology.

Hosanna to the
Son of David!

Hosanna to the Son of David! Blessed be He that cometh in the name of the Lord — God the Lord, who was manifested to us in the flesh.

ANTE-NICENE LITURGIES COMPARED—*continued.*

VIII. Concluding Admonition.

JUSTIN MARTYR.	DIDACHE.	APOSTOLICAL CONSTITUTIONS.
	Whoever is holy, let him come: whoever is not, let him repent. Maranatha.	If anyone be holy, let him draw near; but if anyone be not such, let him become such by repentance.

IX. Amen.

When he has concluded the prayers and the thanksgiving, all the people present express their assent by saying Amen.

Permitted Extempore Prayer.

But permit the prophets to give thanks as much as they will.
Permit also your presbyters to give thanks.

Our argument does not require us to assume—indeed, it is almost certainly not the case—that we have here complete forms of service. There is, for instance, nothing said about the words to be used by the celebrant at either the consecration or the imparting of the elements to the communicants, though there can be little doubt but that then, as now, the words of our blessed Lord at the time of institution were employed in both cases ; indeed, the words of Justin imply as much. This part of the service was considered as of too sacred a character to be revealed to any but the initiated, and to them apparently by oral instruction only. There is enough, however, to show us what was its general character and intention, and it will be noted that it is entirely devoid of the character of a mere pious recollection of the Saviour's sufferings. The strain throughout is one of thanksgiving and of approach to God. The action of the service is one of constant movement heavenwards. The whole atmosphere is an atmosphere of worship. This is particularly emphasized in the earlier form, where the doxology 'To Thee be glory for ever' seems to be repeatedly introduced with the special intention of continually uplifting the thought of the worshippers towards God. The leading motive of the first thanksgiving is the unity of the Church, a yearning for the time when it shall be gathered from all parts of the world and established as the kingdom of God. The order of thought in the Post-Communion Address is particularly striking. The first thought is of the revelation of God in the person of Jesus. There is no suggestion of escape from punishment. The deliverance contemplated is from present evil and from error. The theme is the loftier one of the higher life to which it recognises that man is capable of attaining, and of which he has acquired the knowledge through Christ. The second thought is of the provision made by God for the sustenance both of the natural and spiritual man, and of the new power over the forces of evil which God in Christ has placed at man's disposal. The appeal on behalf of the militant Church is for perfection in love and truth. The underlying idea throughout is precisely that which has been previously insisted upon—the idea of reconciliation. Through Jesus men know God better ; and through Him, in like manner, God is drawn into closer communion with men. The Church expresses her longing, in the language of her supreme corporate utterance, for the moment when this communion, so auspiciously begun on earth,

shall be joyfully consummated in the kingdom of heaven ; sustaining herself in the meanwhile by the provision so amply made by the Father in the world of nature and in the realm of grace. His promises in the past have all found their fulfilment in the Incarnation, and from the Incarnation there springs the hope which imparts confidence to the believer in his outlook for the future. The sacrifice commemorated in the broken bread and the wine poured out is full of the promise of a manifold and fuller life. The members partaking of the spiritual food provided are bound as branches of the vine, as grains of corn in the one loaf, into one body in Jesus Christ, and through Him re-presented, delivered, sanctified, and perfected, as an offering wholly acceptable to God.

CHAPTER XI

REFERENCES TO THE EUCHARIST IN ANTE-NICENE LITERATURE

THE references to the Eucharist, though fairly copious in writers of the third century, are not in the writings of the earliest Fathers so numerous as we might wish, though somewhat more so than we should have expected. The frequency of the celebrations, and the fact that every member of the Church was a regular communicant, would render unnecessary in writings intended for Christian perusal particular references to that which was familiar to everybody, and which was not in the slightest danger of falling into neglect. There was, moreover, a rule which forbade members of the Church to reveal the details of the service to outsiders. It must be remembered that social life in those days was very different from what it is now. The world was heathen, and all manner of indecencies and profanities were tolerated which would be absolutely impossible to-day. It was not deemed advisable, therefore, that the service which Christians venerated above every other should run the risk of being subjected to such grossly irreverent treatment and mockery as an injudicious publicity would undoubtedly involve. This reticence, though it effected its purpose in protecting the Sacrament from irreverence, was in another respect unfortunate, because it induced the heathen to invent all kinds of malicious libels concerning the behaviour of the followers of Christ at their secret gatherings. With a view to attract as little attention from their heathen neighbours as possible, the services were accustomed to be held either at night after darkness had set in, or in the early morning either before or shortly after sunrise. But this additional precaution only tended to aggravate the scandal, and it was charged

against them that under cover of the night passions were indulged and excesses committed of too gross and abominable a character to be done in the light of day.

The Eucharist was, in fact, treated by Christians much in the same way that the mysteries at Eleusis and elsewhere were by the heathen, or as the services and ritual of the Freemasons amongst ourselves at the present time. It does not seem to have been permitted to anyone to transcribe the words of the more sacred portions of the service, and these, as well as the instructions given to the initiated, were orally preserved and transmitted. In the forms given in Chapter X. it will have been noticed that the prayers used at the time of consecration, as also the words said to the communicants during the distribution of the elements, are passed over in silence, though Justin explains that what was said and done was practically the same as at the institution of the service by Christ during His Last Supper with His disciples.

The names by which this service was known during the whole of this period are: *The Eucharist* (ἡ Εὐχαριστία), *The Oblation* (ἡ προσφορά), or (less commonly) *The Mysteries* (τὰ μυστήρια).

For the sake of convenience in reference, and with a view to the more orderly presentment of the evidences, we have arranged the witnesses in the following groups:

1. The Apostolic Fathers.
2. The Apologists.
3. Irenæus and Hippolytus.
4. The Alexandrian School.
5. The North African Church.

I. THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS.

Clement was Bishop of Rome at the close of the first century, and wrote his Epistle to the Corinthians, according to Dr. Lightfoot, in the year 95 or 96 A.D., during the lifetime of the Apostle St. John. His object in writing to them was to exhort them to compose their quarrels and to respect the regular ministry. The dissensions which disturbed the Corinthian Church are worse, he tells them, than even those about which the Apostle Paul had occasion to write to them before.

(a) 'Satisfied with the viatica of God,¹ and carefully attending to His words, ye were inwardly filled with His doctrine; and His sufferings were before your eyes' (τοῖς ἐφοδίοις τοῦ Θεοῦ [or τοῦ Χριστοῦ; the evidence for both is equally balanced] ἀρκούμενοι).—Cap. ii.

(b) 'He who made us and fashioned us, having prepared His bountiful gifts for us before we were born, introduced us into His world. Since, therefore, we receive all these things from Him, we ought for everything to give Him thanks; to whom be glory for ever and ever. Amen'² (ὁφείλομεν καταπάντα Εὐχαριστεῖν αὐτῷ ᾧ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. ἀμήν).—Cap. xxxviii.

(c) 'It behoves us to do all things in their proper order which the Lord has commanded us to perform at stated times. He has enjoined offerings (to be presented) and service to be performed, and that not thoughtlessly or irregularly, but at the appointed times and hours (τάς τε προσφοράς καὶ λειτουργίας ἐπιμελῶς ἐπιτελεῖσθαι καὶ οὐκ εἰκῇ ἢ ἀτάκτως ἐκέλευσε γίνεσθαι, ἀλλ' ὠρισμένοις καιροῖς καὶ ὥραις). Where and by whom He desires these things to be done, He Himself has fixed by His own supreme will, in order that all things, being piously done according to His good pleasure, may be acceptable unto Him. Those, therefore, who present their offerings at the appointed times (οἱ οὖν τοῖς προστεταγμένοις καιροῖς ποιοῦντες τὰς προσφοράς) are accepted and blessed; for, inasmuch as they follow the laws of God, they sin not.'—Cap. xl.

(d) 'Let every one of you, brethren, give thanks to God in his own order'³ (ἐν τῷ ἰδίῳ τάγματι Εὐχαριστεῖτω Θεῷ), living in all good conscience with becoming gravity, and not going beyond the rules of the ministry prescribed to him.'—Cap. xli.

(e) 'Our sin will not be small if we eject from the episcopate (or ministry) those who have blamelessly and holily presented the offerings' (ἁμαρτία γὰρ οὐ μικρὰ ἡμῖν ἔσται, ἔαν τοὺς

¹ We have inserted this passage, although Dr. Lightfoot thinks no reference to spiritual sustenance is intended. The mention of the sufferings of Christ in conjunction with the viatica seems to suggest the service in which His death is 'shown forth' and the new life communicated.

² Compare this with the words of the Post-Communion thanksgiving. Clement seems to have had this in his mind. He is carried on almost unconsciously, as it seems, to quote from the service verbatim.

³ The direction may refer to orderly prophesying, in which extempore freedom was in certain cases allowed. See the direction at the end of the form in the Didache, and cf. 1 Cor. xiv. 31.

ἀμέμπτως καὶ ὁσίως προσενεγκόντας τὰ δῶρα τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς ἀποβάλλωμεν).—Cap. xlv.

Ignatius was Bishop of Antioch at the same time that *Clement* was presiding over the Church in Rome, though he probably survived him by a few years. He was sentenced to be cast to the beasts in Rome by the Emperor Trajan upon the occasion of that Emperor's first expedition against the Parthians and Armenians.

The day of his martyrdom was December 20, 107 A.D. He wrote his epistles to the various churches of the districts through which he passed on his way from Antioch to Rome in that year. They constitute a sustained and urgent appeal to the Christians of those localities to subordinate themselves to lawful and properly constituted authority, and to compose the divisions which disturbed the Church, hindered the growth of the spiritual life amongst them, and damaged the cause of Christ in the eyes of the world. Only those epistles are quoted which are recognised as genuine by all authorities.

(a) 'Let no man deceive himself; if anyone be not within the altar (ἐντὸς τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου), he is deprived of the bread of God (τοῦ ἄρτου τοῦ Θεοῦ). For if the prayer of one or two possess such power, how much more that of the bishop and the whole church! He, therefore, that does not assemble with the church has even by this manifested his pride and condemned himself.'—Ep. to Eph., v.

(b) 'Take heed, then, often to come together to give thanks to God and show forth His praise (εἰς Εὐχαριστίαν Θεοῦ καὶ εἰς δόξαν). For when ye assemble frequently in the same place the powers of Satan are destroyed, and the destruction at which he aims is prevented by the unity of your faith.'—Ep. to Eph., xiii.

(c) 'Ye come together man by man in common through grace individually in one faith and in Jesus Christ, who was of the seed of David according to the flesh, being both the son of man and the Son of God, so that ye obey the bishop and the presbytery with an undivided mind, breaking one and the same bread, which is the medicine of immortality (ἓνα ἄρτον κλῶντες, ὃ ἐστι φάρμακον ἀθανασίας) and the antidote to prevent us from dying, but (which causes) that we should live for ever in Jesus Christ.'—Ep. to Eph., xx.

(d) 'I have no delight in corruptible food, nor in the pleasures of this life. I desire the bread of God, the heavenly

bread, the bread of life, which is the flesh of Jesus Christ (ἄρτον Θεοῦ θέλω ὃ ἐστι σὰρξ τοῦ Χριστοῦ), the Son of God, who became afterwards of the seed of David and Abraham ; and I desire the drink of God, namely, His blood, which is incorruptible Love and eternal Life' (καὶ πόμα θέλω τὸ αἷμα αὐτοῦ).—Ep. to Rom., vii.

(e) 'Take ye heed, then, to have but one Eucharist. For there is one flesh of our Lord Jesus Christ, and one cup into the unity of His blood ; one altar (ἐν θυσιαστήριον) ; as there is one bishop, along with the presbytery and deacons my fellow-servants ; that so, whatsoever ye do, ye may do it according to the will of God.'—Ep. to Philadel., iv.

(f) 'They abstain from the Eucharist and from prayer because they confess not the Eucharist to be the flesh of our Saviour Jesus Christ (Εὐχαριστίας καὶ προσευχῆς ἀπέχονται διὰ τὸ μὴ ὁμολογεῖν τὴν Εὐχαριστίαν σάρκα εἶναι τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ), which suffered for our sins, and which the Father of His goodness raised up again. Those, therefore, who speak against this gift of God incur death in the midst of their disputes. But it were better for them to treat it with respect, that they also might rise again.'—Ep. to Smyrn., vii.

(g) 'Let that be deemed a valid Eucharist (ἐκείνη βεβαία Εὐχαριστία ἡγείσθω) which is (administered) either by the bishop or by one to whom he has entrusted it. Wherever the bishop shall appear there let the multitude also be ; even as wherever Jesus Christ is there is the Catholic Church.'—Ep. to Smyrn., viii.

Didache.—In addition to the form of service set out in the last chapter, there is one other reference in the *Didache* to the Eucharist :

'But on the Lord's Day do ye assemble and break bread and give thanks, after confessing your transgressions, in order that your sacrifice may be pure.'—Cap. xiv.

Barnabas.—Nothing certain is known as to the authorship of this epistle. It is a very early production, though Eusebius in his history repudiates its apostolical authority. Hilgenfeld expresses his belief that it was written at the close of the first century by a Gentile Christian of the Alexandrian School, and its frequent quotation by Clement, one of the most distinguished of the masters of the catechetical school in that city, shows that it was well known there, though Clement, be it noted, does not hesitate to ascribe it to the Apostle of that

name. It cannot have been written much later than the year 120 A.D. It contains only one reference to the Sacrament, and that a somewhat doubtful one:

‘He hath revealed to us by all the prophets that He needs neither sacrifices nor burnt offerings nor oblations, saying thus: “What is the multitude of your sacrifices unto Me? saith the Lord.” . . . He has therefore abolished these things that the new Law of our Lord Jesus Christ, which is without the yoke of necessity, should not have a merely man-made oblation’ (μὴ ἀνθρωποποίητον ἔχῃ τὴν προσφοράν).¹—Cap. ii.

2. THE APOLOGISTS.

Justin Martyr was a native of Flavia Neapolis in Samaria. He was a student, a seeker after truth, and eventually recognised as a philosopher. Born a Gentile and a heathen, and trained in the philosophies of the best of the ancient schools, he embraced Christianity, because on inquiry he found in it alone the satisfaction which he sought. After his conversion he retained the pallium or mantle of the professional teacher, and may be regarded, as Dr. Neander says, as ‘an itinerant missionary in the guise of a philosopher.’ He travelled a great deal, advocating everywhere the cause which he had embraced, and reinforcing his words with the aid of his pen. He wrote two apologies, one addressed to the Senate, the other to the Emperor, and a controversial treatise on the relationship and differences between Christianity and Judaism in the reign of Antoninus Pius (138-161), and suffered martyrdom about the year 165, in that of Marcus Aurelius. We have already in the last chapter given short extracts from his writings.

From the First Apology (cap. lxxv., lxxvii.).

LXV. But after thus washing him who has professed and given his assent, we bring him to those who are called brethren, where they are assembled together, to offer prayers in common both for ourselves and for the person who has

¹ The contrast seems to be between the Christian oblation, which was a memorial of the God-made offering through Christ, the Son of God, and the sacrifices of the Law of old, which man both offered and furnished the victim for. Though the passage is a much disputed one, we have given it for what it is worth.

received illumination, and all others everywhere, with all our hearts, that we might be vouchsafed, now we have learnt the truth, by our works also to be found good citizens and keepers of the commandments, that we may obtain everlasting salvation. We salute one another with a kiss when we have concluded the prayers ; then is brought to the President of the brethren bread, and a cup of water and wine, which he receives, and offers up praise and glory to the Father of all things through the name of His Son, and of the Holy Ghost ; and he returns thanks at length for our being vouchsafed these things by Him. When he has concluded the prayers and the thanksgiving, all the people who are present express their assent by saying Amen. This word 'Amen' means in the Hebrew language 'So be it,' and when the President has celebrated the Eucharist, and all the people have assented, they whom we call deacons give to each of those who are present a portion of the Eucharistic bread, and wine and water, and carry them to those who are absent. . . .

LXVII. But we, after these things, henceforward always remind one another of them ; and those of us who have the means assist all who are in want ; and we are always together ; and in all our oblations we bless the Maker of all things, through His Son Jesus Christ and through the Holy Ghost. And on the day which is called Sunday there is an assembly in the same place of all who live in cities or in country districts, and the records of the Apostles or the writings of the Prophets are read as long as we have time. Then the reader concludes, and the President verbally instructs and exhorts us to the imitation of these excellent things ; then we all together rise and offer up our prayers ; and, as I said before, when we have concluded our prayer, bread is brought and wine and water ; and the President in like manner offers up prayers and thanksgivings with all his strength, and the people gave their assent by saying Amen ; and there is a distribution and a partaking by everyone of the Eucharistic elements ; and to those who are not present they are sent by the hands of the deacons ; and such as are in prosperous circumstances, and wish to do so, give what they will, each according to his choice ; and what is collected is placed in the hands of the President, who assists the orphans and widows, and such as through sickness or any other cause are in want ; and to those who are in bonds, and to strangers from afar, and, in a word, to all who are in need, he is a protector.

From the same Apology (cap. xiii.).

That we are not atheists, therefore, what moderate person will not confess, from our worship of the Creator of this universe, whom we assert, as we have been taught, to have no need of sacrifices of blood, and libations, and incense, but whom we praise to the best of our power with the reasonable service of prayer and thanksgiving (εὐχῆς καὶ Εὐχαριστίας) in all our oblations, having been instructed that the only service that is worthy of Him is not to consume by fire what He has given us for our sustenance, but to apply it to our own benefit and to that of those who are in need, and, showing ourselves grateful to Him in speech, to offer Him solemn acts of worship and hymns (πομπὰς καὶ ὕμνους) for our creation, for all our means of health, for the qualities of things, and for the changes of seasons, and putting up prayers that we may have a resurrection to incorruptibility through our faith in Him.

From the Dialogue with Trypho (cap. xxix.).

Let us Gentiles all meet and glorify God together, for He has visited us also. Let us glorify Him through the King of glory, the Lord of hosts, for He has shown His good will towards the Gentiles also, and He receives sacrifices from us more readily than from you.

Dialogue with Trypho (cap. xli.).

In like manner the oblation of the flour which was commanded to be offered for those who were cleansed from leprosy was a type of the bread of the Eucharist, which Jesus Christ our Lord commanded us to offer in remembrance of the Passion which He underwent for those who purify their souls from all sin; and that we should at the same time give thanks to God both for His having created the world and all that is therein for the sake of man, and for His having delivered us from the sin in which we were born, and overthrown with an utter destruction the principalities and powers of evil through Him, who was made to undergo suffering according to His will. Hence, God speaks thus, as I said before, by Malachi, one of the twelve prophets, of the sacrifices then offered by you. 'I have no pleasure in you, saith the Lord, neither will I accept your offerings at your hands; for from the rising of the sun,

even unto the going down of the same, My name hath been glorified among the Gentiles; and in every place incense is offered unto My name, and a pure offering: for My name is great among the heathen, saith the Lord, but ye profane it.' With regard to those sacrifices which are offered to Him in every place by us Gentiles—that is, of the Eucharistical bread, and equally of the Eucharistical cup—He then foretold that we should glorify His name, but that you should profane it.

Dialogue with Trypho (cap. lxx.).

After quoting Is. xxxiii. 13-20, he goes on to say: 'It is plain that this prophecy speaks of the bread which our Christ gave us to offer in commemoration of His having taken flesh in behalf of those who believe in Him, for whose sake He also suffered; and of the cup which He directed us to offer (ποιεῖν) in the Eucharist for a memorial of His blood.'

Dialogue with Trypho (cap. cxvi., cxvii.).

CXVI. We who through the name of Jesus believe as one man on God, the Creator of all things, have put off our filthy garments—that is, our sins—through the name of His first-begotten Son; and are set on fire by the word of His calling, and are the true high-priestly family of God, as He Himself testifies, saying that in every place among the Gentiles they offer sacrifices pure and well-pleasing to Him. But God accepts not sacrifices from any except through His priests.

CXVII. God has therefore beforehand declared that all who through His name offer those sacrifices which Jesus, who is the Christ, commanded to be offered—that is to say, in the Eucharist of the bread and of the cup, which are offered in every part of the world by us Christians—are well pleasing to Him. But those sacrifices, which are offered by you and through those priests of yours, He wholly rejects, saying, 'And I will not accept your offerings at your hands. For from the rising of the sun, even to the going down of the same, My name is glorified among the Gentiles; but ye profane it.'

But you even till now contentiously assert that God does not receive the sacrifices offered in Jerusalem by those who, then living there, were termed Israelites; but says that the prayers of those of your nation who were then in the dispersion were accepted by Him, and calls their prayers sacrifices. That

prayers, indeed, and Eucharists offered up by the worthy, are the only sacrifices which are perfect and acceptable to God, is what I myself also affirm: for these alone the Christians also have been taught to offer, and that in the remembrance made by their food, both solid and liquid, in which there is a commemoration also of the Passion endured for their sakes by the Son of God.

Athenagoras.—Of the personal history of Athenagoras nothing is known. Eusebius says nothing about him, and the account given by Philip of Sida of the catechetical school of Alexandria is unreliable. His apology for Christianity (*πρεσβεία περὶ Χριστιανῶν*) is addressed to the Emperors Marcus Aurelius and Commodus, and must have been composed, therefore, somewhere about the year 177.

From the 'Presbeia' (cap. xiii.).

As to our not sacrificing, the Framer and Father of this universe does not need blood, nor the odour of burnt offerings, nor the fragrance of flowers and incense, forasmuch as He is Himself perfect fragrance, needing nothing either within or without. . . . When, holding God to be the Framer of all things, who preserves them in being and superintends them all by knowledge and administrative skill, we lift up holy hands to Him, what need has He further of a hecatomb?

'For they, when mortals have transgressed or failed
To do aright, by sacrifice and prayer,
Libations and burnt-offerings, may be soothed.'

HOMER: *Il.*, ix. 499 (Lord Derby's Translation).

And what have I to do with holocausts, which God does not stand in need of? *though, indeed, it does behove us to offer a bloodless sacrifice* and the service of our reason.

3. IRENÆUS AND HIPPOLYTUS.

Irenæus became Bishop of the churches of Lyons and Vienne after the persecution to which they were subjected at the close of the reign of the Emperor Marcus Aurelius (177 A.D.), of which an interesting account is given in the epistle, still extant, written by the members of these churches, and addressed by them to the churches of Asia Minor.

Eusebius (v., 20) preserves a fragment of a letter written to

Florinus, a false teacher who in earlier days had enjoyed with him the privilege of personal communion with Polycarp, in which he recalls and describes his interview with that Father, his appearance, habits, conversation, and discourses. His work on Heresies is a very voluminous one, but is now only to be read in a Latin version. In addition to this, his *magnum opus*, there are some fragments of his writings preserved by Eusebius and others, of which the originals are lost. His writings date from the last quarter of the second century, and are interesting as evidencing the views and practices of the Church in both the East—the scene of his earlier labours—and the West, where he exercised the office of Bishop during the latter part of his life. The extracts from his work on the Heresies will be found to be somewhat copious, but full of the deepest interest, confirming as they do in almost every respect the views both of the Atonement and the Eucharist expressed in the earlier chapters of this book. The following passages are set out *in extenso* in order that readers may have the opportunity of forming their own opinion with the assistance of both text and context.

Against Heresies (book iv., chap. xvii., sec. 5).

Again giving directions to His disciples to offer to God the firstfruits of His own created things—not as if He stood in need of them, but that they might be themselves neither unfruitful nor ungrateful—He took that created thing bread, and gave thanks and said, ‘This is My body.’ And the cup likewise, which is part of that creation to which we belong, He confessed to be His blood, and taught the new oblation of the New Covenant;¹ which the Church, receiving from the Apostles, offers to God throughout all the world,² to Him who gives us as the means of subsistence the firstfruits of His own gifts in the New Covenant, concerning which Malachi, among the twelve prophets, thus spoke beforehand: ‘I have no pleasure in you, saith the Lord omnipotent, and I will not accept sacrifice at your hands. For from the rising of the sun, unto the going down of the same, My name is glorified among the Gentiles, and in every place incense is offered to My name and a pure sacrifice; for great is My name among the Gentiles, saith the Lord omnipotent,’ indicating in the plainest manner

¹ Et novi Testamenti novam docuit oblationem.

² In universo mundo offert Deo.

by these words that the former people, the Jews, shall indeed cease to make offerings to God, but that in every place sacrifice shall be offered to Him, and that a pure one ;¹ and His name is glorified among the Gentiles.

6. . . . Since the name of the Son belongs to the Father, and since in the omnipotent God the Church makes offerings through Jesus Christ,² He says well on both these grounds : ' And in every place incense is offered to My name and a pure sacrifice.' Now, John in the Apocalypse declares that the incense is the prayers of the saints.

Against Heresies (book iv., chap. xviii., secs. 1-6).

1. The oblation of the Church,³ therefore, which the Lord gave instructions to be offered throughout all the world is accounted with God a pure sacrifice, and is acceptable to Him ; not that He stands in need of a sacrifice from us, but that he who offers is himself glorified in what he does offer, if his gift be accepted. For by the gift both honour and affection are shown forth towards the King : and the Lord, wishing us to offer it in all simplicity and innocence, did express Himself thus : ' Therefore, when thou offerest thy gift upon the altar, and shalt remember that thy brother hath aught against thee, leave thy gift before the altar, and go thy way ; first be reconciled to thy brother, and then return and offer thy gift.' We are bound, therefore, to offer to God the firstfruits of His creation, as Moses also says : ' Thou shalt not appear in the presence of the Lord thy God empty ;' so that man, being accounted as grateful by those things in which he has shown his gratitude, may receive that honour which flows from Him.

2. And the class of oblations in general has not been set aside, for there were both oblations there (among the Jews), and there are oblations here (among the Christians). Sacrifices there were among the people, sacrifices there are, too, in the Church⁴ ; but the species alone has been changed, inasmuch as the offering is now made, not by slaves, but by freemen. For the Lord is ever one and the same, but the character of a

¹ *Omni autem loco, sacrificium offeretur ei, et hoc purum.*

² *Per Jesum Christum offert Ecclesia.*

³ *Ecclesiae oblatio quam dominus docuit offeri in universo mundo purum sacrificium reputatum est.*

⁴ *Oblationes enim et illic, oblationes autem et hic : sacrificia in populo, sacrificia et in Ecclesia.*

servile oblation is peculiar to itself, as is also that of freemen, in order that by the very oblations the indication of liberty may be set forth. . . .

4. Inasmuch as the Church offers with single-mindedness,¹ her gift is justly reckoned a pure sacrifice with God.² As Paul also says to the Philippians: 'I am full, having received from Epaphroditus the things that were sent from you, the odour of a sweet smell, a sacrifice acceptable, pleasing to God.' For it behoves us to make an oblation to God,³ and in all things to be found grateful to God our Maker, in a pure mind, and in faith without hypocrisy, in well-grounded hope, in fervent love, offering the firstfruits of His own created things. And the Church alone offers this pure oblation to the Creator,⁴ offering to Him, with giving of thanks (the things taken) from His creation. But the Jews do not offer thus; for their hands are full of blood, for they have not received the Word, through whom it is offered to God. Nor, again, do any of the conventicles of the heretics (offer this). For some, by maintaining that the Father is different from the Creator, do, when they offer to Him what belongs to this creation of ours, set Him forth as being covetous of another's property, and desirous of what is not His own. Those, again, who maintain that the things around us originated from apostasy, ignorance, and passion, do, while offering unto Him the fruits of ignorance, passion, and apostasy, sin against their Father, rather subjecting Him to insult than giving Him thanks. But how can they be consistent with themselves (when they say) that the bread over which thanks has been given is the body of their Lord, and the cup His blood, if they do not call Himself the Son of the Creator of the world--that is, His Word, through whom the wood fructifies, and the fountains gush forth, and the earth gives 'first the blade, then the ear, then the full corn in the ear'?

5. Then, again, how can they say that the flesh, which is nourished with the body of the Lord and with His blood, goes to corruption, and does not partake of life? Let them therefore either alter their opinion, or cease from offering the things just mentioned. But our opinion is in accordance with the

¹ Cum simplicitate Ecclesia offert.

² Purum sacrificium apud Deum deputatum est.

³ Oportet enim nos oblationem Deo facere.

⁴ Hanc oblationem Ecclesia sola puram offert Fabricatori.

Eucharist, and the Eucharist in turn establishes our opinion ; for we offer to Him His own, announcing consistently the fellowship and union of the flesh and Spirit. For as the bread, which is produced from the earth, when it receives the invocation of God, is no longer common bread, but the Eucharist, consisting of two realities, earthly and heavenly ; so also our bodies, when they receive the Eucharist, are no longer corruptible, having the hope of the resurrection to eternity.

6. Now we make offering¹ to Him, not as though He stood in need of it, but rendering thanks for His gift, and thus sanctifying what has been created. For even as God does not need our possessions, so do we need to offer something to God, as Solomon says : 'He that hath pity upon the poor lendeth unto the Lord.' For God, who stands in need of nothing, takes our good works to Himself for this purpose, that He may grant us a recompense of His own good things, as our Lord says : 'Come, ye blessed of My Father, receive the kingdom prepared for you : for I was an hungered, and ye gave Me to eat : I was thirsty, and ye gave Me drink : I was a stranger, and ye took Me in : naked, and ye clothed Me : sick, and ye visited Me : in prison, and ye came to Me.' As, therefore, He does not stand in need of these [services], yet does desire that we should render them for our own benefit, lest we be unfruitful ; so did the Word give to the people that very precept as to the making of oblations, although He stood in no need of them, that they might learn to serve God. Thus is it, therefore, also His will that we, too, should offer a gift at the altar frequently and without intermission. The altar, then, is in heaven (for towards that place are our prayers and oblations directed), the temple likewise [is there], as John says in the Apocalypse :² 'And the temple of God was opened' ; the tabernacle also : 'For behold,' he says, 'the tabernacle of God, in which He will dwell with men.'

Against Heresies, (book v., chap., ii., sec. 2).

But vain in every respect are they who despise the entire dispensation of God, and disallow the salvation of the flesh,

¹ Offerimus.

² Sic et ideo nos quoque offerre vult munus ad altare frequenter sine intermissione. Est ergo altare in coelis, illuc enim preces nostræ et oblationes nostræ diriguntur : et templum quemadmodum Johannes in Apocalypsi ait. . . .

and treat with contempt its regeneration, maintaining that it is not capable of incorruption. But if this, indeed, do not attain salvation, then neither did the Lord redeem us with His blood, nor is the cup of the Eucharist the communion of His blood, nor the bread which we break the communion of His body.¹ For blood can only come from veins and flesh, and whatsoever else makes up the substance of man, such as the Word of God was actually made. By His own blood He redeemed us as also His Apostle declares, 'In whom we have redemption through His blood, even the remission of sins.' And as we are His members, we are also nourished by means of the creation (and He Himself grants the creation to us, for He causes His sun to rise, and sends rain when He wills). He has acknowledged the cup (which is a part of the creation) as His own blood, from which He bedews our blood; and the bread (also a part of the creation) He has established as His own body, from which He gives increase to our bodies.

3. When, therefore, the mingled cup and the manufactured bread receives the Word of God, and the Eucharist of the blood and the body of Christ is made, from which things the substance of our flesh is increased and supported, how can they affirm that the flesh is incapable of receiving the gift of God, which is life eternal, which (flesh) is nourished from the body and blood of the Lord, and is a member of Him?—even as the blessed Paul declares in his Epistle to the Ephesians, that 'we are members of His body, of His flesh, and of His bones.' He does not speak these words of some spiritual and invisible man, for a spirit has not bones nor flesh, but (he refers to) that dispensation (by which the Lord became) an actual man, consisting of flesh, and nerves, and bones—that (flesh) which is nourished by the cup which is His blood, and receives increase from the bread which is His body. And just as a cutting from the vine planted in the ground fructifies in its season, or as a corn of wheat falling into the earth and becoming decomposed rises with manifold increase by the Spirit of God, who contains all things, and then, through the wisdom of God, serves for the use of men, and having received the Word of God becomes the Eucharist, which is the body and blood of Christ;² so also our bodies, being nourished by

¹ Neque calix Eucharistiæ communicatio sanguinis ejus est, neque panis quem frangimus communicatio corporis ejus est.

² καὶ προσλαμβάνοντα τὸν λόγον τοῦ Θεοῦ Εὐχαριστία γίνεται ὅπερ ἐστὶ σῶμα καὶ αἷμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ.

it, and deposited in the earth, and suffering decomposition there, shall rise at their appointed time, the Word of God granting them resurrection to the glory of God, even the Father, who freely gives to this mortal immortality, and to this corruptible incorruption.

Fragment discovered in the Royal Library at Turin by Pfaff in 1715 (Ante-Nicene Library, Irenæus, Frag. xxxvii.).

We make an oblation to God of the bread and the cup of blessing, giving Him thanks in that He has commanded the earth to bring forth these fruits for our nourishment. And then, when we have perfected the oblation, we invoke the Holy Spirit that He may exhibit this sacrifice, both the bread the body of Christ, and the cup the blood of Christ, in order that the receivers of these antitypes may obtain remission of sins and life eternal.

Fragment preserved in Eusebius, 'Ecc. Hist.' (book v., chap. xxiv.), Epistle to Victor, Bishop of Rome.

Those presbyters who preceded thee, and who did not observe (this custom—respecting the observance of Easter) sent the Eucharist to those of other dioceses who did observe it . . . and Anicetus conceded to Polycarp in the church the celebration of the Eucharist, by way of showing him respect.¹

Hippolytus was a disciple of Irenæus, and afterwards Bishop of Portus, near to Rome, at the mouth of the Tiber. He would be in constant communication with the Bishop of Rome, and, in fact, was banished together with him to the island of Sardinia. He was martyred about the year 235. His writings date from the end of the second and the beginning of the third century. His principal work is his 'Refutation of all Heresies,' a controversial treatise of a similar character to that of his old master Irenæus. There are also extant fragments of commentaries, discourses, and other writings, of which the original complete copies are now lost.

¹ παρεχώρησεν ὁ Ἀνίκητος τὴν Εὐχαριστίαν τῷ Πολυκάρπῳ κατ' ἐντροπὴν δηλονότι.

Fragment from Commentary on Genesis by Eighty-eight Fathers in Vienne (Ante-Nicene Library, Hippolytus, vol. i., p. 412).

Gen. xlix. 12-15 : 'His eyes are gladsome with wine, and his teeth white as milk.'

'I think it mystically signifies the sacraments (τὰ μυστήρια) of the New Testament of our Saviour, and the words "his teeth are white as milk" denote the excellency and purity of the sacramental food. And, again, these words, "his teeth are white as milk," we take in the sense that His words give light to those who believe in Him.'

Fragment from Commentary on the Book of Proverbs, ix. 1, etc. (Ante-Nicene Library, Hippolytus, vol. i, p. 439).

And she hath furnished her table.

This denotes the promised knowledge of the Holy Trinity; it also refers to His honoured and undefiled body and blood, which day by day are administered and offered sacrificially at the spiritual Divine table as a memorial of that first and ever-memorable table of the spiritual Divine supper.

Come eat of My bread, and drink of My wine which I have mingled for you.

By which is meant that He gave His Divine flesh and honoured blood to us, to eat and to drink it for the remission of sins.

Fragment from Commentary on Daniel (Ante-Nicene Library, Hippolytus, vol. i., p. 454).

For when the threescore and two weeks are fulfilled, and Christ is come, and the Gospel is preached in every place, the times being then accomplished, there will remain only one week, the last, in which Elias will appear, and Enoch, and in the midst of it the abomination of desolation will be manifested, viz., Antichrist, announcing desolation to the world. And when he comes the *sacrifice and oblation* will be removed, which now are offered to God in every place by the nations.

4. THE ALEXANDRIAN SCHOOL.

Clement of Alexandria.—Clement was a heathen by birth, and, like Justin Martyr, was a student in his young days of the

old philosophies. He convinced himself by inquiry and study of the truth of Christianity, and sought to make himself as fully acquainted as possible with its teaching and mysteries. His teachers, he tells us, were distinguished men; they certainly represented a variety of churches, for he says he met with one in Greece, another in Syria; a third was an Italian, and a fourth a Palestinian Jew. His last instructor, and the one most to his mind, was Pantænus, the scholarly head of the catechetical school in Alexandria. He describes him as the greatest of them all.

Clement, therefore, took up his abode in Alexandria in order that he might permanently benefit by Pantænus' instruction.

He eventually succeeded his master as head of the school about the year 189, and was ordained a presbyter. He was compelled to leave Alexandria in the year 202, during the persecution of the Christians under Septimus Severus. A few years later we hear of him at Jerusalem, and Eusebius mentions that Alexander, the Bishop of that city, commended him to the church at Antioch by a letter of introduction, which he quotes. Three of his works have come down to us: his 'Logos Protreptikos' (Address to the Heathen), 'Paidagogos' (The School-master), and 'Stromateis' (The Miscellanies). Eusebius says his 'Stromateis' was written whilst he was still in Alexandria—that is, between 190 and 202. The others coming first in order of subject, and therefore probably first composed, must have been written during the same decade. He was a contemporary both of Irenæus and Hippolytus, though there is nothing to indicate that he ever came into personal contact with either of them.

Pedagogue (i. 6).

But the expression 'I have given you to drink' (ἐπότισα) is the symbol of perfect appropriation. For those who are full-grown are said to *drink*, babes to suck. 'For My blood,' says the Lord, 'is true drink.' . . . The Lord, in the Gospel according to John, brought this out by symbols when He said: 'Eat ye My flesh, and drink My blood,' describing distinctly by metaphor the drinkable properties of faith and the promise by means of which the Church, like a human being, consisting of many members, is refreshed and grows, is welded together and compacted of both—of faith, which is the body, and of

hope, which is the soul, as also the Lord of flesh and blood. . . . 'Eat ye My flesh,' He says, 'and drink My blood.' Such is the suitable food which the Lord ministers, and He offers His flesh and pours forth His blood, and nothing is wanting for the children's growth. Oh, amazing mystery! We are enjoined to cast off the old and carnal corruption, as also the old nutriment, receiving in exchange another new regimen, that of Christ, receiving Him if we can to hide Him within; and that, enshrining the Saviour in our souls, we may correct the affections of our flesh.

Pedagogue (ii. 2).

And the blood of the Lord is twofold. For there is the blood of His flesh, by which we are redeemed from corruption; and the spiritual, that by which we are anointed. And to drink the blood of Jesus is to become partaker of the Lord's immortality; the Spirit being the energetic principle of the Word as blood is of flesh. Accordingly, as wine is blended with water, so is the Spirit with man. And the one, the mixture of wine and water, nourishes to faith; while the other, the Spirit, conducts to immortality. And the mixture of both—of the water and of the Word—is called *Eucharist*, renowned and glorious grace; and they who partake of it are sanctified both in body and soul.

Miscellanies (i. 19).

And those destitute of prudence—that is, those involved in heresies—'I enjoin,' remarks Wisdom, saying, 'Touch sweetly stolen bread and the sweet water of theft,' the Scripture manifestly applying the terms 'bread' and 'water' to nothing else but to those heresies which employ bread and water in the *oblation*, not according to the rule of the Church. For there are those who celebrate the *Eucharist* with mere water. . . .

Miscellanies (iv. 22).

Therefore the *mysteries* are for the most part celebrated by night, indicating the withdrawal of the soul from the body, which takes place by night.

So it is said that we ought to go washed to *sacrifices* and prayers clean and bright, and that the external adornment and purification are practised for a sign. . . .

Miscellanies (iv. 25).

For Salem is by interpretation peace ; of which our Saviour is enrolled King, as Moses says, Melchizedek, King of Salem, priest of the most high God, who gave bread and wine, furnishing consecrated food for a type of the Eucharist.

Origen.—Origen was an Alexandrian by birth (184 A.D.), and would be about five years of age when Clement succeeded to the mastership of the school. His father, Leonides, was a devout Christian and a professional teacher, and had diligently instructed him in the elements of the faith before he passed him on to the care of Clement, causing him to learn daily long portions of the Scriptures by heart. When his father was thrown into prison, Origen, who was but a lad, insisted upon going to him, and sharing with him a martyr's death ; and his mother was only able to detain him by hiding his clothes. The Bishop of Alexandria, Demetrius, appointed him master of the catechetical school on the departure of Clement in the year 202, though Origen was then only seventeen years of age. He declined all payment for his services, disposing of his books to a purchaser on the condition that he was to receive regularly four obols a day (three halfpence) by way of payment. On this scanty pittance he subsisted for some years. He acquired a renown greater than that of any of his contemporaries, and his services were in constant demand. He paid visits to Rome, Jerusalem, Cæsarea, Greece, and Antioch, and was honourably received in every place that he visited. During the persecution at Alexandria under Caracalla in 216, he went to Jerusalem, and at the invitation of his friend Alexander, who was Bishop of that city, he, being only a layman, preached there, and by so doing vexed Demetrius, the Bishop of Alexandria, who from that time manifested displeasure against him. On his return to Alexandria he applied himself closely to study ; and from that time onward his life was almost entirely given up to literary work, first at Alexandria, and, after his excommunication by Demetrius, at Cæsarea. He died in the year 254, at the age of seventy ; so that the period of his literary activity covers nearly the whole of the first half of the third century.

Against Celsus (viii. 13).

Accordingly we worship with all our power the one God, and His only Son, the Word and the Image of God, by prayers and

supplications; and we offer our petitions to the God of the universe through His only begotten Son. To the Son we first present them, and beseech Him, as 'the propitiation for our sins,' and our High Priest, to offer our desires AND SACRIFICES and prayers to the Most High (ὃ πρῶτον προσφέρομεν αὐτὰς, ἀξιοῦντες αὐτὸν ἱλασμὸν ὄντα (περὶ) τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν προσαγαγεῖν, ὡς Ἀρχιερέα, καὶ εὐχὰς καὶ τὰς θυσίας καὶ ἐντεύξεις ἡμῶν τῷ ἐπὶ πᾶσι Θεῷ).

Against Celsus (viii. 33).

For this reason, then, let Celsus, as one who knows not God, give thank-offerings to demons. But we *give thanks* to the Creator of all, and, along with *thanksgiving* and prayer for the blessings we have received, we also *eat the bread presented to us, and this bread becomes by prayer a sacred body*, which sanctifies those who sincerely partake of it.

Against Celsus (viii. 57).

And we have a symbol of gratitude to God in the bread which we call the Eucharist. (And see context.)

Gregory Thaumaturgus.—Gregory was a native of Neo-Cæsarea, in Pontus (Asia Minor), and belonged to a family of some wealth and standing. By birth a heathen, he studied with a view to the profession of a lawyer. In the course of his studies he visited, amongst other places, Cæsarea in Palestine, just about the time when Origen settled there after his expulsion from Alexandria. He became first his pupil, and afterwards his convert, and in the year 240, at Origen's earnest solicitation, he allowed himself to be ordained, and then consecrated Bishop of his native town, Neo-Cæsarea, and for thirty years presided over the church there with extraordinary success. It was said that, whereas there were only seventeen Christians in the city when he was made Bishop, there were only seventeen pagans at the time of his death in 270. He was a great admirer and devoted disciple of Origen, and on leaving his master, about the year 240, he composed the panegyric in his honour from which the following extract is taken :

Panegyric on Origen (iv.).

Speaking of the Logos, he says that the Father 'honours Him with a power in all respects equal to His own, even as

also He is honoured ; which position He first and alone of all creatures that exist has had assigned Him, this only begotten of the Father, who is in Him, and who is God the Word ; while all others of us are able to express our thanksgiving and our piety only if, in return for all the blessings which proceed to us from the Father, we bring our offerings in simple dependence on Him alone, and thus present the meet oblation of the Eucharist to Him who is the Author of all things, acknowledging also that the only way of piety is in this manner to offer our memorials through Him.'

Dionysius of Alexandria.—Dionysius was a pupil of Origen's during the time the latter was teaching in Alexandria (202-231). By Origen's influence he was led first to embrace Christianity, and afterwards to undertake the duties of presbyter. He succeeded Heraclas, first in the mastership of the catechetical school in 232, and afterwards in the bishopric of Alexandria in 247 or 248. He retained the office for eighteen years, dying in 265.

Epistle to Sixtus II. of Rome.

Dionysius asks for advice as to what should be done in the case of a member of his flock who, having been long since baptized by heretics, desires rebaptism with Catholic rites on beholding a public baptism at Alexandria.

'I, indeed, have not dared to do this ; but I have said that the long course of communion had been sufficient for this. For I should not dare to renew afresh, after all, one who had heard the giving of thanks, and who had answered with others Amen, who had stood at the holy table, and had stretched forth his hands to receive the blessed food, and had received it, and for a very long time had been a partaker of the body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ.'

5. NORTH AFRICAN CHURCH.

Tertullian.—Tertullian was born at Carthage about the year 160. He is known as the Father of Latin Christianity, being the first of the very early Christian writers who composed in that language. He was educated for the profession of a lawyer, and became a convert when about thirty years of age. He was ordained a presbyter, though never advanced to the episcopal office. Naturally of a stern and ascetic temperament,

he joined the Montanists some ten years after his conversion ; and many of his extant writings were composed by him after he became a member of that puritanical sect. He is said to have lived to a very old age ; so that his death took place probably about the year 240. His evidence testifies to and illustrates the feeling, methods of expression, and customs of the Western Church generally at the end of the second and beginning of the third centuries.

De Spectaculis (25).

How monstrous it is to go from God's Church to the devil's—from the sky to the sty, as they say ; to raise your hands to God, and then to weary them in the applause of an actor ; out of the mouth from which you uttered 'Amen' over the Holy Thing, to give witness in a gladiator's favour ; to cry 'for ever' to anyone else but God and Christ !

On Prayer (6).

For Christ is our Bread, because Christ is Life, and bread is life (*quia vita Christus, et vita panis*). 'I am,' saith He, 'the Bread of Life' ; and a little above, 'The bread is the Word of the living God, who came down from the heavens.' Then, too, (we find) that His body is reckoned (to be) in bread (*Tum quod et corpus ejus in pane censetur*). 'This is My body' (*Hoc est corpus meum*).

On Prayer (19).

Touching the days of 'stations,' most think that they must not be present at the sacrificial prayers, on the ground that the station must be dissolved by reception of the Lord's body. Does, then, the Eucharist cancel a service devoted to God, or bind it more to God ? Will not your station be more solemn if you have withal stood at God's altar ? When the Lord's body has been received and reserved, each point is secured, both the participation of the sacrifice and the discharge of duty.

To his Wife (ii. 5).

Will not your husband know what it is which you secretly taste before (taking) any food ? And if he knows it to be bread, does he not believe it to be that (bread) which it is said to be ?

De Corona (3 and 4).

We take also in meetings before daybreak, and from the hand of none but the president's, the Sacrament of the Eucharist, which the Lord both commanded to be eaten at meal-times and enjoined to be taken by all alike. . . .

If for these and other such rules you insist upon having positive Scriptural injunction, you will find none. Tradition will be held forth to you as the originator of them, custom as their strengthener, and faith as their observer.

Prescription against Heretics (36).

Writing of the Church of Rome, he says: 'One Lord God does she acknowledge, the Creator of the universe, and Christ Jesus, born of the Virgin Mary, the Son of God the Creator, and the Resurrection of the flesh. The Law and the Prophets she unites in one volume with the writings of Evangelists and Apostles, from which she drinks in her faith. This she seals with the water (of baptism), arrays with the Holy Ghost, feeds with the Eucharist, cheers with martyrdom, and against such a discipline thus (maintained) she admits no gainsayer.'

Prescription against Heretics (40).

Mithra there (in the kingdom of Satan) sets his mark on the foreheads of his soldiers; celebrates also the oblation of bread.

On the Resurrection of the Flesh (8).

The flesh, indeed, is washed in order that the soul may be cleansed; the flesh is anointed that the soul may be consecrated; the flesh is signed (with the cross) that the soul too may be fortified; the flesh is shadowed with the imposition of hands that the soul also may be illuminated by the Spirit; the flesh feeds on the body and blood of Christ that the soul likewise may fatten on its God.

Exhortation to Chastity (7).

Where three are a church is, albeit they be laics. For each individual lives by his own faith, nor is there exception of persons with God; since it is not hearers of the Law who are

justified by the Lord, but doers, according to what the Apostle withal says. Therefore, if you have the right of a priest in your own person in cases of necessity, it behoves you to have likewise the discipline of a priest whenever it may be necessary to have the right of a priest. If you are a digamist, do you baptize? If you are a digamist, *do you offer?* How much more capital a crime it is for a digamist laic to act as a priest when the priest himself, if he turn digamist, is deprived of the power of acting the priest!

'But to necessity,' you say, 'indulgence is granted.' No necessity is excusable which is avoidable. In a word, shun to be found guilty of digamy, and you do not expose yourself to the necessity of administering what a digamist may not lawfully administer. God wills us all to be so conditioned, as to be ready at all times and places to undertake the duties of His Sacraments. There is 'one God, one faith,' one discipline, too.

Exhortation to Chastity (II).

In second marriage, two wives beset the same husband—one in spirit, one in flesh. For the first wife you cannot hate, for whom you retain an even more religious affection, as being already received into the Lord's presence; for whose spirit you make request; for *whom you render annual oblations*. Will you stand, then, before God with as many wives as you commemorate in prayer; and *will you offer for two?*

Cyprian.—The works of Cyprian must be classed amongst the most valuable of the remains of the literature of the Ante-Nicene Church; not merely on account of their number and extent, but more particularly because of their quality and character. There appears to have been less disposition to reticence in the Western Churches on the subject of the Christian mysteries; so that the allusions to the Eucharist are consequently more open and direct. Cyprian's extant writings consist for the most part of letters dealing with practical matters of Church discipline and order; and on that account possess a peculiar interest and value. It is not our intention in these short biographical introductions to give more information than is required to fix the date of our various authorities. In the case of Cyprian, it would be difficult to give particulars of his history without enlarging this prefatory notice to an

extent inconvenient and unsuitable to the character of our present inquiry. It may suffice us now to note that he was born about the year 200, was educated for the profession of a rhetorician, and became a convert to Christianity through the influence of his friend Cæcilius, one of the presbyters of the church at Carthage in the year 246. He was ordained almost immediately afterwards; and constrained to accept the bishopric of Carthage in 248. On the outbreak of the Decian persecution in 250, he went into retirement for awhile; but continued to direct the affairs of the church by means of epistolary correspondence. He returned to his public duties the following year; but in 254 was banished to Curubis by order of the Emperor Valerian, and martyred in the year 258.

Epistles (iv. ; Oxford v.).

Speaking of the crowds who were wont to visit the confessors in the prisons, and who sought to communicate with them, he says :

‘Take counsel, therefore, and see that this may be more safely managed with moderation, so that the presbyters also, *who there offer with the confessors*,¹ may one by one take turns with the deacons individually; because, by thus changing the persons and varying the people that come together, suspicion is diminished.’

Epistles (ix. ; Oxford xvi.).

Reproving the laxity of the presbyters in receiving the lapsed to communion again without the Bishop’s warrant, he says complainingly :

‘While the penance is not yet performed, confession is not yet made, the hands of the bishop and clergy are not yet laid upon them, the Eucharist is given to them; although it is written: “Whosoever shall eat the bread and drink the cup of the Lord unworthily shall be guilty of the body and blood of the Lord.”’

And later in the same letter :

‘They, moreover, lay the blessed martyrs open to ill-will, and involve the glorious servants of God with the priest of God; so that, although they, mindful of my place, have directed letters

¹ Qui illic apud confessores offerunt.

to me . . . yet these, disregarding the honour which the blessed martyrs with the confessors maintain for me . . . before the fear of persecution is quenched, before my return, almost even before the departure of the martyrs, communicate with the lapsed, and offer and give them the Eucharist.'

Epistles (x. ; Oxford xv.).

Writing to the martyrs and confessors, he complains that 'those presbyters, contrary to the Gospel law, contrary also to your respectful petition, before penance was performed, before confession even of the gravest and most heinous sin was made, before hands were placed upon the repentance by the bishops and clergy, *dare to offer on their behalf* and to give them the Eucharist.'

Epistles (xi. ; Oxford xvii.).

Writing to the people at Carthage, he says: 'Yet I hear that certain of the presbyters, neither mindful of the Gospel nor considering what the martyrs have written to me, nor reserving to the bishop the honour of his priesthood and of his dignity, have already begun to communicate with the lapsed, and *to offer on their behalf*, and to give them the Eucharist, when it was fitting that they should attain to these things in due course.'

Epistles (xv. ; Oxford xxxvii.).

Writing to Moyses and Maximus and the rest of the confessors, he says: 'Confession shuts you up in prison; affection shuts me up there. And I indeed, remembering you day and night, both *when in the sacrifices I offer prayer with many*, and when in retirement I pray with private petition, beseech of the Lord a full acknowledgment to your crowns and your praises.'

Epistles (xxxiii. ; Oxford xxxix.).

Speaking of the uncles of Celerinus (Laurentius and Egnatius), who had been previously martyred, he writes: 'We always offer sacrifices for them, as you remember, as often as we celebrate the passions and days of the martyrs in the annual commemoration.'

Epistles (liii. ; Oxford lvii.).

Writing in the name of the African Synod to the church on the outbreak of a second persecution, he lays it down that the lapsed who have in the interim remained in the church are, without further preliminaries, to be at once restored to communion in order that by the Eucharist they may be strengthened and prepared to endure, if perchance they should be called upon to suffer.

‘Now, indeed, peace is necessary, not for the sick, but for the strong ; nor is communion to be granted by us to the dying, but to the living, that we may not leave those whom we stir up and exhort to the battle unarmed and naked, but may fortify them with the protection of Christ’s body and blood ; and, as the Eucharist is appointed for this very purpose, that it may be a safeguard to the receivers, that we may arm those whom we wish to be safe against the adversary with the protection of the Lord’s abundance. For how do we teach or provoke them to shed their blood in confession of His name, if we deny to those who are about to enter on the warfare the blood of Christ ? Or how do we make them fit for the cup of martyrdom, if we do not first admit them to drink in the church the cup of the Lord by the right of Communion ? . . . He cannot be fitted for martyrdom who is not armed for the contest by the Church ; and his spirit is deficient which the Eucharist received does not raise and stimulate.’

Epistles (lxii. ; Oxford lxiii.).

The letter is written against those who used only water instead of wine and water in the Eucharist ; but it is full of instructive incidental references to that Sacrament.

‘Some, either by ignorance or simplicity in sanctifying the cup of the Lord, and in ministering to the people, do not do that which Jesus Christ, our Lord and God, the Founder and Teacher of this sacrifice, did and taught. . . . In offering the cup the tradition of the Lord must be observed, and nothing must be done by us but what the Lord first did on our behalf, as that the cup which is offered in remembrance of Him should be offered mingled with wine.’

Then, after referring to Melchizedek as a type of Christ, and his offering bread and wine as a symbol of the Eucharist, he

goes on : ' Which thing the Lord completing and fulfilling, offered bread and the cup mixed with wine, and so He, who is the fulness of truth, fulfilled the truth of the image prefigured.'

Later on, after quoting our Lord's words of institution from St. Matt. xxvi. 28, 29, he continues : ' In which portion we find that the cup which the Lord offered was mixed, and that that was wine which He called His blood. Whence it appears that the blood of Christ is not offered if there be no wine in the cup, nor the Lord's sacrifice celebrated with a legitimate consecration unless our oblation and sacrifice respond to His passion. But how shall we drink the new wine of the fruit of the vine with Christ in the kingdom of His Father, if in the sacrifice of God the Father and of Christ we do not offer wine, nor mix the cup of the Lord by the Lord's own tradition.'

And further on : ' Thus, therefore, in consecrating the cup of the Lord water alone cannot be offered, even as wine alone cannot be offered. For if anyone offer wine only, the blood of Christ is dissociated from us ; but if the water be alone, the people are dissociated from Christ ; but when both are mingled, and are joined with one another by a close union, there is completed a spiritual and heavenly Sacrament. Thus, the cup of the Lord is not, indeed, water alone, nor wine alone, unless each be mingled with the other ; just as, on the other hand, the body of the Lord cannot be flour alone or water alone, unless both should be united and joined together and compacted in the mass of one bread ; in which very Sacrament our people are shown to be made one, so that in like manner as many grains collected, and ground, and mixed together into one mass, make one bread ; so in Christ, who is the heavenly bread, we may know that there is one body, with which our number is joined and united.

' For if Jesus Christ, our Lord and God, is Himself the Chief Priest of God the Father, and has first offered Himself a sacrifice to the Father, and has commanded this to be done in commemoration of Himself, certainly that priest truly discharges the office of Christ, who imitates that which Christ did ; and he then offers a true and full sacrifice in the church to God the Father, when he proceeds to offer it according to what he sees Christ Himself to have offered.

' The discipline of all religion and truth is overturned, unless what is spiritually prescribed be faithfully observed ; unless,

indeed, anyone should fear in the morning sacrifices, lest by the taste of wine he should be redolent of the blood of Christ.¹

‘Therefore, thus, the brotherhood is beginning even to be kept back from the passion of Christ in persecutions, by learning in the offerings to be disturbed concerning His blood and His blood-shedding. Moreover, however, the Lord says in the Gospel: “Whosoever shall be ashamed of Me, of him shall the Son of Man be ashamed.” And the Apostle also speaks, saying: “If I pleased men, I should not be the servant of Christ.” But how can we shed our blood for Christ, who blush to drink the blood of Christ?’

‘Does anyone perchance flatter himself with this notion that, although in the morning water alone is seen to be offered, yet when we come to supper we offer the mingled cup? But when we sup we cannot call the people together to our banquet, so as to celebrate the truth of the Sacrament in the presence of all the brotherhood. But, still, it may be said that it was not in the morning, but after supper, that the Lord offered the mingled cup. Ought we, then, to celebrate the Lord’s cup after supper, that so by continual repetition (*frequentandis dominicis*) of the Lord’s Supper we may offer the mingled cup? It behoved Christ to offer about the evening of the day, that the very hour of sacrifice might show the setting and the evening of the world; as it is written in Exodus: “And all the people of the synagogue of the children of Israel shall kill it in the evening.” And again in the Psalms: “Let the lifting up of my hands be an evening sacrifice.” But we celebrate the resurrection of the Lord in the morning.

‘And because we make mention of His passion in all sacrifices (for the Lord’s passion is the sacrifice which we offer), we ought to do nothing else than what He did. For Scripture says: “For as often as ye eat this bread, and drink this cup, ye do show forth the Lord’s death till He come.” As often, therefore, as we offer the cup in commemoration of the Lord and of His passion, let us do what it is known the Lord did.’

Epistles (lxxi. ; Oxford lxxii.).

He speaks of heretics as having ‘attempted to offer, in opposition to the one and Divine altar, false and sacrilegious

¹ *I.e.*, by his breath smelling of wine, and so enabling his detection by the heathen officers as a Christian.

sacrifices without,' and says that 'they ought not on returning to retain those arms of ordination and honour with which they rebelled against us. For it behoves priests and ministers, who wait upon the altar and sacrifices, to be sound and stainless; since the Lord God speaks in Leviticus, and says: "No man that hath a stain or a blemish shall come nigh to offer gifts to the Lord."'

Firmilian—among Cyprian's Letters (lxxiv. ; Oxford lxxv.).

Firmilian reminds Cyprian of the case of a frenzied woman who pretended to be filled with the Holy Ghost, and who 'also had frequently dared this, to pretend with an invocation not to be contemned that she sanctified bread, and celebrated (*facere*) the Eucharist, and to offer sacrifice to the Lord, not without the sacrament of the accustomed utterance; and also to baptize many, making use of the usual and lawful words of interrogation, that nothing might seem to be different from the ecclesiastical rule.'

Epistles (lxxv. ; Oxford lxxix.).

Even the Lord's sacrifices themselves declare that Christian unanimity is linked together with itself by a firm and inseparable charity. For when the Lord calls bread, which is combined by the union of many grains, His body, He indicates our people whom He bore as being united; and when He calls the wine, which is pressed from many grapes and clusters and collected together, His blood, He also signifies our flock, linked together by the mingling of a united multitude.

Treatise on the Lord's Prayer (4).

And when we meet together with the brethren in one place, and celebrate Divine sacrifices with God's priest, we ought to be mindful of modesty and discipline, not to throw abroad our prayers indiscriminately, with unsubdued voices, nor to cast to God with tumultuous wordiness a petition that ought to be commended to God by modesty; for God is the hearer, not of the voice, but of the heart. Nor need He be clamorously reminded, since He sees men's thoughts.

On the Lord's Prayer (xviii.).

Christ is the bread of those who are in union with His body. And we ask that this bread should be given to us daily,

that we who are in Christ, and daily receive the Eucharist for the food of salvation, may not, by the interposition of some heinous sin, by being prevented, as withheld and not communicating, from partaking of the heavenly bread, be separated from Christ's body, as He Himself predicts and warns: 'I am the bread of life which came down from heaven. If any man eat of My bread, he shall live for ever: and the bread which I will give is My flesh for the life of the world.' When, therefore, He says that whosoever shall eat of His bread shall live for ever, as it is manifest that those who partake of His body and receive the Eucharist by the right of communion are living, so, on the other hand, we must fear and pray lest any one who, being withheld from communion, is separate from Christ's body should remain at a distance from salvation; as He Himself threatens, and says: 'Unless ye eat the flesh of the Son of Man, and drink His blood, ye shall have no life in you.' And therefore we ask that our bread—that is, Christ—may be given to us daily, that we who abide and live in Christ may not depart from His sanctification and body.

On the Lord's Prayer (xxx.).

For this reason also the priest, by way of preface before his prayer, prepares the mind of the brethren by saying, 'Lift up your hearts,' that so upon the people's response, 'We lift them up unto the Lord,' he may be reminded that he himself ought to think of nothing but the Lord.

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